

COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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ANNUAL REPORT  
FOR THE YEAR 1965  
(89th Congress, 1st Session)



AUGUST 31, 1966.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House  
on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities  
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

## COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

(89th Congress, 1st Session, 1965)

EDWIN E. WILLIS, Louisiana, *Chairman*

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FRANCIS J. McNAMARA, *Director*

WILLIAM HITZ, *General Counsel*

ALFRED M. NITTLE, *Counsel*



## LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

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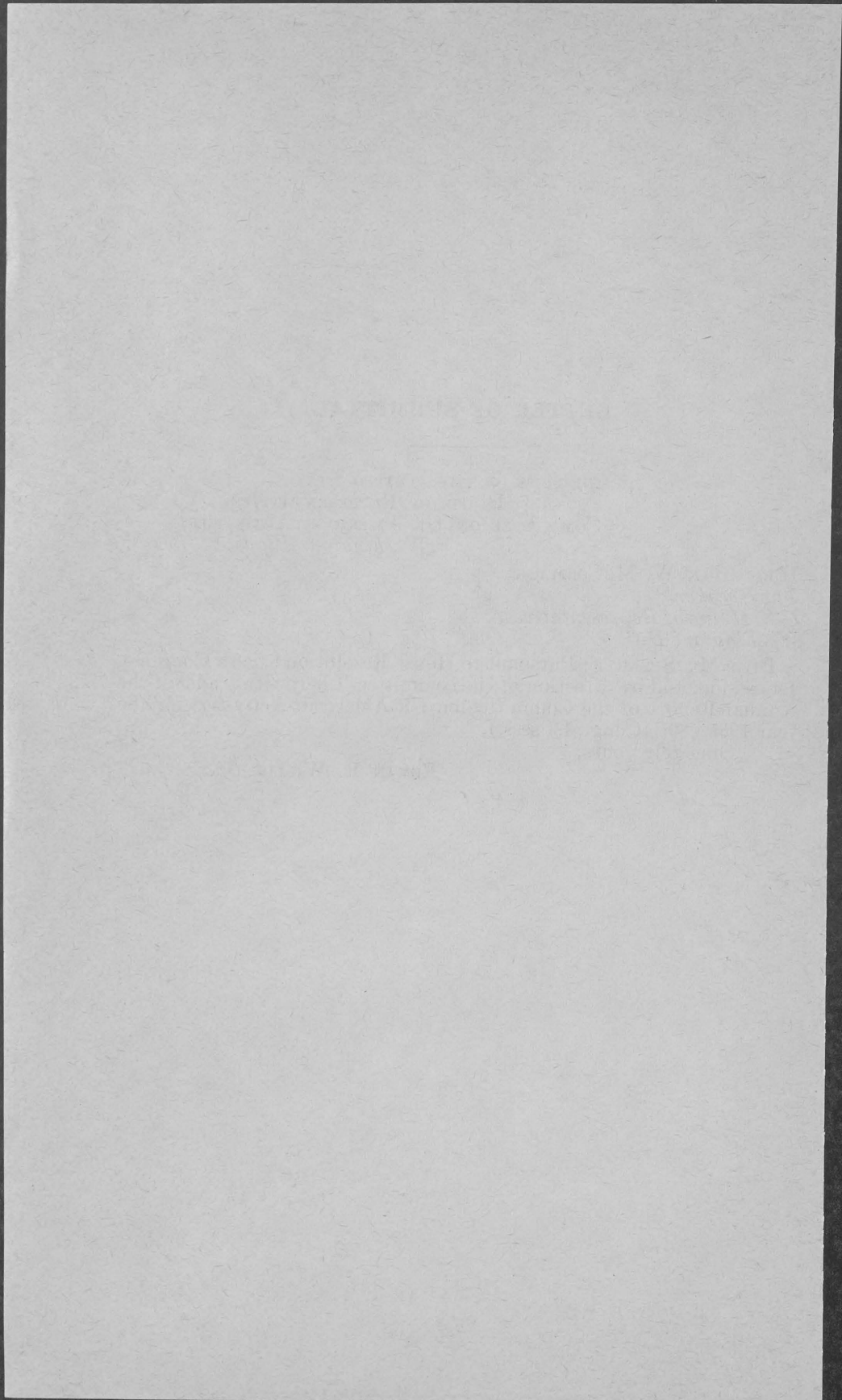
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, August 31, 1966.*

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK,  
*The Speaker,*  
*U.S. House of Representatives,*  
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to House Resolution 8, 89th Congress, 1st session, and by direction of the committee, I herewith transmit the Annual Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the year 1965 (89th Cong., 1st sess.).

Sincerely yours,

EDWIN E. WILLIS, *Chairman.*



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# Union Calendar No. 884

89TH CONGRESS <i>1st Session</i>	}	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES	}	REPORT No. 1928
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## COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1965

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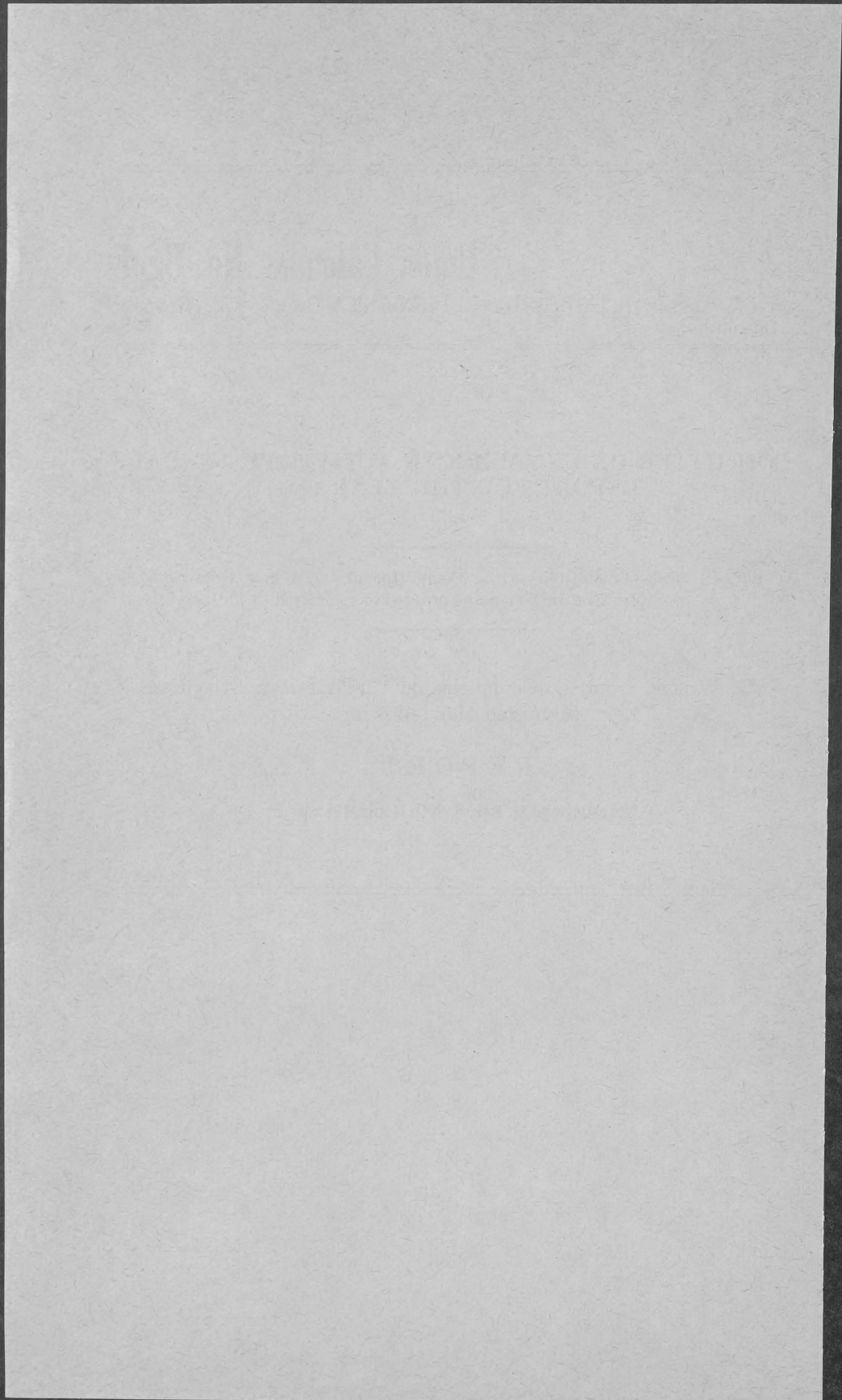
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State of the Union and ordered to be printed

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Mr. WILLIS, from the Committee on Un-American Activities,  
submitted the following

### R E P O R T

[Pursuant to H. Res. 8, 89th Cong., 1st sess.]



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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*  
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(g)(1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 89TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 4, 1965

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

\* \* \* \* \*

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

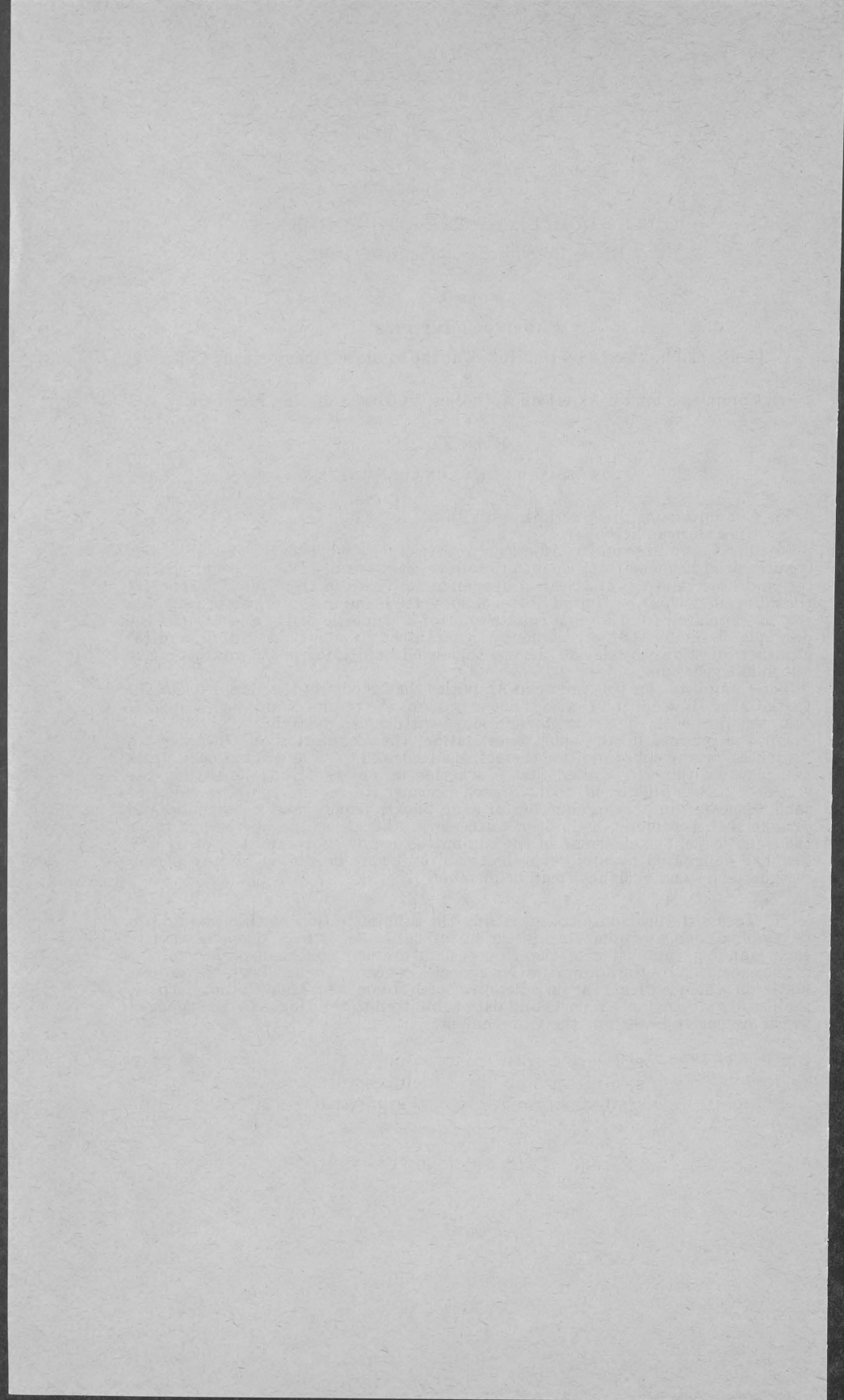
(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.



## FOREWORD

The committee's hearings on Ku Klux Klan organizations have raised the question of whether the committee looks at the Klans in the same light as it does the Communist Party, the organization to which it has devoted most of its attention during recent years.

The committee does not regard the two movements in the same light. It sees essential, major differences between them.

First and foremost, the Communist Party is the agent of a foreign power, owned lock, stock, and barrel by Moscow. There is no evidence that the Klans fall into this category or that they have foreign ties of any kind.

Second, the Communist Party, as our courts have found, seeks at the first opportunity the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. The Klans operate on a warped and perverted interpretation of the Constitution, but they do not desire to destroy our Government and replace it with a totalitarian form that is completely alien to American traditions and principles.

These fundamental differences between the Klan and Communist movements cannot, and should not, be overlooked because they govern, in the legislative and other areas, the methods which should be used to combat the dangers and evils of the two movements.

Despite these important differences, it must be stated that in the area of tactics and methods of operation, the committee's investigation and hearings have revealed certain similarities between Klan and Communist groups.

First, there is the matter of secrecy. Deliberate, carefully planned steps are taken by both groups to keep from public knowledge the identity of the bulk of their membership. Membership lists are not maintained by either organization. Both groups try to conceal their meeting places. A relative handful of top-ranking Communists will admit their party affiliation. The same is true of high-ranking Klan officials but, as far as rank-and-file members are concerned, a calculated effort is made by both them and officials of the organization to keep their identity secret.

Both organizations use cover names to conceal their operations. The Communist Party sets up fronts with noble-sounding names to promote, and at the same time conceal, its activities in certain areas. The Klans use cover or front names in an effort to disguise the identity of their local operating units—calling their local Klaverns improvement associations, hunting and fishing clubs, and so on.

Both appeal to potential members and sympathizers through distortion and deceit and by not fully revealing what they stand for. The Communists talk about peace, rights, security, and equality for all. They profess dedication to "democracy" and to our Constitution and laws. They do not reveal—and deny when challenged—that they are stooges of the Kremlin and are prepared to use any means, including violent revolution, to impose on the American people a totalitarian government that would render our Constitution and laws meaningless



and destroy individual rights and security, as well as equality before the law.

The Klans talk about promoting patriotism, opposing communism, and defending the Constitution of the United States. They say nothing about the fact—or deny—that they are prepared to use, and have used, illegal means to achieve their primary objectives of maintaining white supremacy and segregation.

Both use this same device to milk the gullible of money to promote their activities.

Both groups, in attempting to sell their program or “line,” appeal to emotion rather than to reason.

In both organizations, full knowledge of their basic nature and intent and all the means and devices used to achieve them are known only to a relatively small hard core of officials and agents.

Because both groups operate outside the law, both have devised elaborate security measures to prevent penetration by law enforcement agencies.

Because both organizations operate outside the law, they fear the defection of members or officials who have inside knowledge of their operations. For this reason, both use intimidation and threats in their efforts to prevent former members from revealing what they know about the organizations’ activities.

Both use the device of making harassing and threatening anonymous phone calls in an effort to intimidate their enemies.

Both organizations are characterized by a self-perpetuating leadership and largely cut-and-dried elections.

Both organizations are characterized by a military-type organizational structure and chain of command.

Both try to undermine the principles, traditions, and institutions of this country which run contrary to, or in any way impede the implementation of, their policies, programs, and objectives.

The rank-and-file membership in both organizations has little or no say in policy decisions. All members are expected to give blind obedience to all orders and directives coming from the leadership.

In the areas of propaganda, agitation, and appeals for support, each group feeds on the other. The Communist Party rants and raves about the evils of klanism, grossly overrates its strength and influence, and tries to create the impression that it is rife throughout the country. The Klans, on the other hand, declaim about the horrors of communism, exaggerate its strength within the U.S., and try to create the impression that it is about to take over the country and that they are the only ones doing anything to prevent such a development.

By talking much about the evils of communism, the need to combat it, and grossly exaggerating their role in doing so, the Klans attract some well-meaning persons of conservative bent who, if they knew the full truth about the Klans, would never have anything to do with them.

The Communists, by talking about peace, constitutional rights, equality, economic security, etc., win the support of some well-intentioned persons of liberal persuasion who, if they fully comprehended the nature and purposes of the Communist movement, would never have anything to do with the party or its fronts.

Finally, it is my view that if the Klans and the Communist Party were trying to sell merchandise instead of an ideology, they could peddle it under a common sign, “Hate for sale.”



Both groups preach hatred of all individuals, organizations, or Government officials who oppose and fight them.

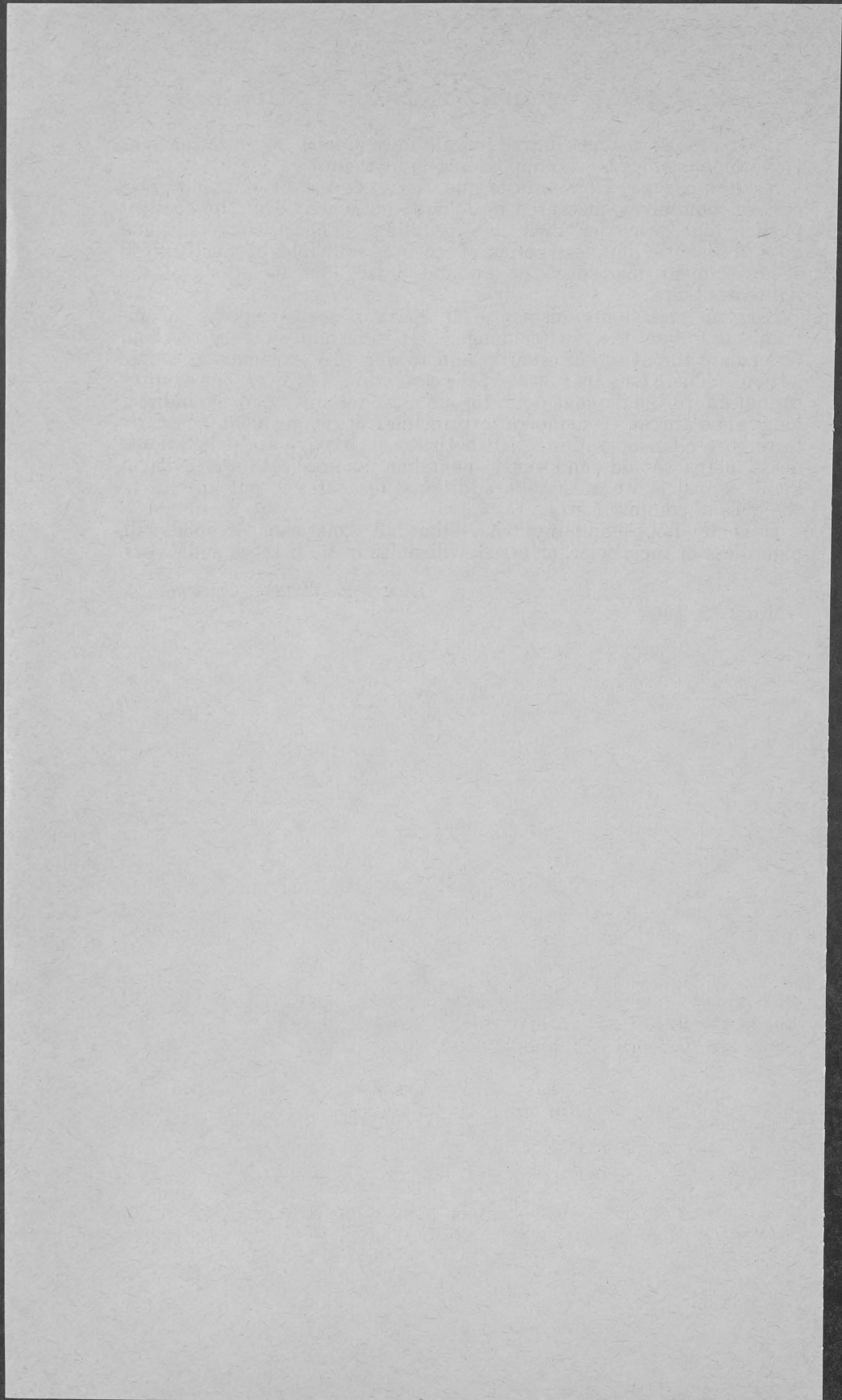
Hate is cheap. Communists and Klanners peddle it at no great cost to themselves, measured in dollars and cents. But the country pays a high price for their hate-peddling. The price is national discord and friction, destruction of accepted principles of constitutional government, disrespect for law and order, and violations of the rights of others.

Klanism and communism are far apart in some respects. Communism is much the greater danger. It is certainly a very real and immediate threat to our security and to our very existence as a free nation. The Klans are not. At the same time, however, our country cannot afford the damage done to our national unity and the indirect long-range threat to democratic principles of government posed by terroristic Klan operations. In both the legislative and educational fields, steps should, and must, be taken to eradicate the evils of klanism, just as we must take additional measures to put an end to the evils of communism.

It is my hope—and my trust—that all Americans of good will, regardless of race, color, or creed, will unite in both these endeavors.

EDWIN E. WILLIS, *Chairman.*

JULY 15, 1966



# ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1965

## CHAPTER I

### HEARINGS CONDUCTED FOR LEGISLATIVE PURPOSES

#### HEARINGS RELATING TO PROPOSED LEGISLATION FOR CREATION OF A FREEDOM COMMISSION AND FREEDOM ACADEMY

The House Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings on nine bills which proposed the creation of a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy. Testimony on these bills was received on March 31, April 1 and 28, May 7 and 14, 1965, from 19 witnesses and organizations.

The nine bills were: H.R. 470 by Mr. Herlong; H.R. 1033 by Mr. Gubser; H.R. 2215 by Mr. Ichord; H.R. 2379 by Mr. Boggs; H.R. 4389 by Mr. Gurney; H.R. 5370 by Mr. Clausen; H.R. 5784 by Mr. Ashbrook; H.R. 6700 by Mr. Buchanan; H.R. 9209 by Mr. Feighan.

The purposes of these bills are: to establish a research and educational institution as an independent agency of the United States Government to assist in the development of methods and means employable in both the governmental and private sectors in counteracting all forms of Communist political warfare, while seeking to preserve and build free and viable societies; and to provide information and knowledge on these subjects for governmental personnel, private citizens, and foreign nationals.

As provided in the bills, the Freedom Academy would be an independent institute conducted by a commission whose members would be appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate, and would operate under the general supervision of the Congress in that it would report to it regularly concerning its activities and for its appropriations.

(With these hearings, the committee completed the taking of public testimony on Freedom Academy bills. The hearings began in the 88th Congress when the committee received testimony from 37 persons and organizations during 7 days of hearings. See Hearings Providing for Creation of a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy, Part 1, February 18, 19, 1964; Hearings, etc., Part 2, February 20, April 7, 8, and May 19, 20, 1964.)

#### LIST OF WITNESSES (in order of appearance)

*Hon. Charles S. Gubser* (R-Calif.)

*Hon. John M. Ashbrook* (R-Ohio)

*Hon. Don H. Clausen* (R-Calif.)

*Edgar Ansel Mowrer*, 1932 Pulitzer Prize winner; deputy director of Office of War Information in World War II; foreign correspondent

- in World War I; radio commentator and author of 10 books on foreign affairs; news correspondent and writer for 50 years.
- Hon. Edward J. Gurney* (R-Fla.)
- Hon. Karl E. Mundt* (R-S. Dak.)
- Arthur E. Meyerhoff*, president of the advertising firm of Arthur E. Meyerhoff Associates, Inc., of Chicago, Ill.; author of *The Strategy of Persuasion*.
- Hon. John H. Buchanan, Jr.* (R-Ala.)
- Hon. Earl E. T. Smith*, ex-Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Cuba; lt. col. during World War II in the U.S. Army and the U.S. Air Force; former member of the War Production Board; author of *The Fourth Floor*; investment expert and member of the New York Stock Exchange for 35 years.
- Hon. Richard H. Ichord* (D-Mo.)
- Hon. Hale Boggs* (D-La.)
- Dr. William B. Walsh*, founder and president of Project HOPE, which has served three continents and in 4 years has trained over 2,500 physicians and treated more than 100,000 persons in scores of nations.
- Hon. William C. Doherty*, former U.S. Ambassador to Jamaica, past president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, and vice president of the executive council of the AFL-CIO.
- Rufus C. Phillips III*, special adviser for psychological warfare with the U.S. military advisory group in Vietnam and adviser on counter-subversion in Laos and Vietnam in both official and private capacities; served with the U.S. Army in Korea; president of Intercontinental Consultants, Inc.
- Hon. Edwin E. Willis* (D-La.)

## STATEMENTS RECEIVED

- The American Legion*, by *Daniel J. O'Connor*, chairman, *Americanism Commission*.
- Reserve Officers Association of the U.S.*, by *Lt. Col. Floyd Oles*, *USAR (Retired)*.
- Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U.S.*, by *Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle*, *USMC (Retired)*.
- Order of Lafayette*.

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

Congressman Gubser testified that "though wishful thinkers say to themselves that test ban treaties, wheat sales, and other apparent improvements in East-West relations signal a permanent thaw in the cold war, a simple look around the globe reveals otherwise." The truth is that we are losing the cold war, he said. The witness submitted a chart on the historic growth of communism which showed that, while in 1917 only 10 percent of the world's population lived in about 8½ million square miles of Communist territory, today Communists rule 35 percent of the globe's population—over 1 billion humans—living in 13.7 million square miles of Communist-controlled territory. A significant factor in this development has been the failure of the United States to win the war of propaganda. Time after time the free world has responded with military action to combat communism, but almost always, the witness said, the forces of subversion



have done their work so effectively that military action has come too late. For example, these forces gained such a head start in Vietnam that the military response had been placed at almost an impossible disadvantage.

Since the time when Lenin captured Russia, the Communist training apparatus has grown to 6,000 special schools which teach the tactics of subversion. The free world cannot engage in such practices, since the basis of freedom is freedom of choice—and we do not wish to impose our choice upon others, he said. But we must not allow a vacuum to exist into which Communist propaganda can move and win without opposition. This is not freedom of choice, the Congressman said.

Rebutting the cliché of “indoctrination” as it pertains to training courses on the wiles and wares of communism, Mr. Gubser said that true academic freedom exists in an environment where knowledge is freely available—but unfortunately, in the key areas of the world, only Communist information is available unless someone presents the other side. Therefore, to reject America’s propaganda mission is, in fact, to promote indoctrination rather than renounce it. It is time to recognize, said Mr. Gubser, that “Communist propagandists have filled the vacuum caused by the inactivity of freedom’s proponents and are winning the war for men’s minds.”

Concerning the Department of State’s view that the Academy bill would lead to Federal control of education, the Congressman said the reverse would be true. The fact is that the Department now has absolute control of the propaganda program and therefore the extension of this effort to include the participation of private citizens would tend to relax the Federal monopoly by spreading the responsibility to more citizens.

Mr. Gubser also stated that American policy is one of reacting when something happens which is adverse to U.S. interests. What reaction there is usually comes too late to be effective. A training program would help to correct this problem by closing the time gap between a Communist act or theme and the corresponding counter-measure, since the U.S. officials involved would have the knowledge and ability to move more quickly. By training private citizens, the Department of State would have more, rather than less, support for its efforts. This effect could not be achieved by its current proposal to create an enlarged Foreign Service Institute. This, he concluded, would only be an enriched course in diplomacy rather than the kind of specialized effort needed.

#### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

Mr. Ashbrook asked how it was possible that a small group of ragged Russian revolutionaries, in the course of a few short decades, could place one-third of the world’s population in the grip of slavery. Responding to his own question, Mr. Ashbrook said that the answer in part lies in the concept and implementation of total political war, which the early Communists and their successors have developed over the years. As early as 1928 the U.S.S.R. was graduating “finely trained agents,” he said, schooled in the political, psychological, economic, technological, and organizational aspects of spreading global communism.



The difference between the proposed Freedom Academy and the Lenin Institute of Political Warfare, the Congressman noted, is the fact that the former is a school open to people throughout the world. Speaking to the need for training foreign students, Mr. Ashbrook said that the cold war is not for the amateurs in America who cannot save countries like the Congo or Indonesia. It must train foreign students with the skills needed to cope with the Communists and to create their own independence and free and democratic organizations.

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

The California Congressman devoted his remarks to proposed security features of the Freedom Academy, stressing that a general security investigation should be required for all persons employed by the Freedom Commission; all persons permitted to have access to classified information; and, at the Commission's discretion, any person who is under consideration for Academy training. The witness felt that more consideration should be given to the subject of security checks for the Commissioners themselves in spite of current security practices and executive orders.

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

The witness made the observation that he had noted a similarity between the behavior of democratic Europe in the 1930's and that of the United States since 1945. The catastrophe of World War II was a result of Europeans trying to persuade themselves that Hitler, Mussolini, and their cohorts did not mean business. Sidney and Beatrice Webb went to the Soviet Union, for example, and recorded every flattering story told to them by the Soviet officials about the U.S.S.R. They published a book about their visit and misled everyone who read it—except the foreign correspondents stationed in Moscow, who observed that there wasn't "a word of it that corresponds with Soviet action."

The witness offered another instance of Soviet propaganda which hoodwinked the non-Communist countries, namely, their constitution of 1936. He pointed out that this document, which listed many civil rights, included several provisos which many foreigners overlooked. One item was that Communist Party domination should never be upset or diminished. Another section specified that political crimes—and "almost anything in Russia was defined as a political crime"—superseded civil rights there.

The witness stressed the point that the free world lacks an understanding of the fundamentals of the international Communist conspiracy—even to the degree of believing that it is possible for a Communist regime to change radically without ceasing to be Communist. The intense desire for peace has led many well-intentioned people to grasp at Soviet straws. Furthermore, one should not be misled by the official claim that, since the Government is in possession of all the facts, only its representatives can make the right decisions. Indeed, were not Chamberlain of England and Daladier of France, he asked, in possession of the facts from their overseas sources pertaining to Nazi Germany? Yet policymakers in England had never read Hitler's blueprint for power, his book *Mein Kampf*.

Mr. Mowrer strongly supported the training of foreign students and cited the situation in the African country of Burundi as a case in point. He said that had some of its leaders learned the facts about communism, the Chinese agents stationed there—and now expelled—would not have been invited into the country in the first instance. The officials in many African and Asian countries are fine, patriotically motivated people and they take great risks to make their countries free and independent. However, many of them are “patsies or pushovers for Communist agitators.”

To press for coalition governments and compromises merely compounds the issue, Mowrer warned. A compromise in Vietnam today, he said, would not be successful for the simple reason that North Vietnam wants to communize South Vietnam—and neither the U.S. nor the South Vietnamese are seriously trying to decommunize North Vietnam. While the United States cannot meet the terror tactics of the Communists with similar terror and murder-assassinations in Vietnam, there are times when it must use some forms of force against theirs. The witness cited air bombings as a case in point. He drew the analogy of the Nazi bombing raids against Warsaw, Rotterdam, and Coventry during World War II and the counterraid against Berlin and other German cities by British and American bombers. And today, he emphasized, the total threat to the free world is even greater.

Concerning the Department of State's theme that the proposed Academy could lead to “indoctrination,” the witness countered by saying that children, too, have to be taught that murder, stealing, and rape are wrong. That, too, was indoctrination, he said. Similarly, people should be shown that a free society is superior to a slave regime, and one should have no hesitancy in teaching that type of indoctrination.

The witness challenged the Department's contention that the Academy could not perform a useful function because it would not have operational responsibilities. He said that it was not necessary to have policy responsibilities to carry out its educational function any more than it was required of a non-policymaking army to perform its duty under a Presidential directive to wage war.

Generally, the American people are apathetic about foreign issues until these issues reach the crisis stage. The Freedom Academy might help to cure this by enlightening the leadership of the country toward a greater understanding of the issues. Such understanding would lead to the support for policy positions prior to the time that the issues reach the shooting stage, the witness said.

The ideological split between Red China and the U.S.S.R. was referred to by the witness as a mixture of the theological disputes of the Middle Ages variety, the power struggle of national states, and the personal rivalries of Communists who, the more power they acquire, the touchier they become. However, the witness felt convinced that the split would never develop into an open break between the two powers and certainly not under the present circumstances. He recalled that British policy had been based similarly upon a false assumption during World II, that is, that the Italians could be separated from the Germans on the basis that the two nationalities were not particularly friendly to each other. However, Mr. Mowrer pointed out, the fact overlooked by British policymakers was that

each of these powers needed the aid of the other to achieve its respective end; the one to construct the Third Reich of 400 million inhabitants, including Eastern Europe and the Ukraine; the other to create the Empero Romano, or new Roman Empire, around the Mediterranean Sea. Both regimes had staked their political fortunes upon the realization of these objectives. Without the help—or against the opposition—of the other power in the Axis neither one could expect to succeed. Therefore, a falling-out of these two powers would not come about until such time as they had achieved the power and territory desired and not before they had divided “the swag.”

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

Congressman Gurney stated that the U.S. had made some gains and some advances in the cold war but, overall, the Communists were winning the struggle between the way of freedom and their way. Despite the fact that some instruments such as foreign aid and the Peace Corps have been partially effective, these tools have not been a complete answer for the purposes of this struggle. A new instrument such as the Freedom Academy was required to develop new weapons in the field of ideas in order to prosecute the war more effectively.

Testifying on the necessity for a Freedom Academy, the witness said that in his home State of Florida, where the legislature had enacted a law requiring that instruction be given on the subject of communism, the teachers had difficulty finding a place where they could prepare themselves or study the problem.

Not only would the Academy fill this training need for teachers, but it would also erase today's disjointed efforts by replacing them with a cohesive unit capable of providing in-depth courses about communism.

“We cannot fail to try this Freedom Academy idea,” he said. “If the executive branch doesn't want it, we should make it an arm of Congress.”

The dilemma faced by the United States, Mr. Gurney stated, was akin to that of a bullfrog and a cauldron of scalding water. If the creature was thrown in, it would quickly leap out to preserve its life. However, if it was placed in a container of tepid water which was slowly heating to the boiling point, it would not leap out and would therefore perish. Unless this Nation gets started with her own offense, the Communists would not have to bury us since we shall have buried ourselves, he concluded.

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

Senator Mundt testified that the proposed Freedom Academy legislation was even more important than a previous security bill, the Mundt-Nixon bill written by this committee and subsequently made part of the Internal Security Act. It was important, he said, because it would, for the first time, mobilize the expertise within the country into an intelligent and effective contest against the Communists in those areas of the world where “we meet them cheek to jowl in non-military competition.”

Something new must be added to America's cold war efforts, he said. Foreign aid has been a disappointment, considering the fact that \$100 billion had been spent in over 100 countries and the dividends

from this cold war investment were bringing decreasing results. When the United States concluded World War II, its international prestige was high and she was admired and trusted. But since the end of the war, a substantial decline in international respect has taken place. People condemn the United States for using tear gas, yet fail to raise their voices at the wanton killing of women and children by the Communists in Vietnam. Even our allies have remained silent, the Senator said, when this country was falsely charged with atrocities. The answer lies in certain conditions which the proposed legislation would help to correct. There has been a failure to comprehend what makes other peoples "tick," he said, or to understand their philosophy, their traditions, and their psychology. By concentrating solely on one problem, namely, foreign development and economic aid, the U.S. has done little to encourage the propagation of attitudes friendly to her interests or to utilize assistance to further those interests.

In the key areas of the global struggle where the U.S. meets the Communist problem head on and competes for the allegiance or tolerance of the host peoples, we utilize a straight, information-type approach while the Communists elicit emotional responses, he said. The U.S. tends to a more rational but ineffective method, while the Communists employ the evangelist style of salesmanship. In their aid and development activities, they also offer a dogma and creed that "packs emotional substance along with rational approach," the Senator noted. For instance, the Communists build dams, but also propound a world view which helps peoples adjust to their fate after being torn away from their traditional way of life and their homes by the impact of the dam. Coupled with their propaganda is the usual refrain that the U.S. is the world's fundamental evil and that when it constructs a dam it floods people out of their homes, showing thereby little regard for human beings.

Somehow, Senator Mundt continued, U.S. officials have not been able to study their foreign hosts to the degree required in order to appeal to them both emotionally and rationally. The effort to master the disciplines of nonmilitary warfare also includes an understanding of the psychological makeup of differing peoples. People base their attitudes and judgments on the cultural values with which they are familiar. Even within the U.S. such differences are apparent. Abroad, Africans act differently than Americans, Laotians differ from Vietnamese, and Chinese from Russians, even though both are Marxists. Senator Mundt analyzed the problem as follows:

We cannot assume that other people think like we do. We should learn how they do think and determine how to apply that knowledge to our interest. Our antagonists utilize such knowledge to undercut governments friendly to us, to subvert independent nations, to mobilize youths, to get mobs to burn down our libraries. They are motivated to do things which they shouldn't be doing because the Communists have made a study of what it takes to motivate the people in that particular country about the kind of problems that confront them.

Because of their training and knowledge of the target country and its peoples, the Communists know how to appeal to hatred, to grudges, to resentments, to discontent, to idealism, to ambitions, or whatever



it takes to influence the nationals. They appeal to the poor to rid themselves of exploiters, and they label Americans as the exploiters. They appeal to the young to institute justice, and they label us as the manufacturers and portrayers of local injustices, he said.

The witness outlined the highlights of the proposed legislation:

1. It would break down the social sciences from their compartmented structure into a unified, rounded study applicable to the various cultures where the U.S. operates.

2. It would permit research into subjects now ignored in the non-military warfare area. There exists a War College for military warfare as such, but the Nation does not have even a kindergarten for nonmilitary warfare.

3. Pioneering in the area of research, the Academy could develop new initiatives which, if successful, might prove worthy of imitation in some of the universities of this country, or aid them in improving their own developing programs.

4. The Academy could lead to a better understanding of our own Government and of the procedures of the executive branch in foreign affairs as they relate to fighting communism in foreign countries.

5. The Academy would organize, verify, and systematize ideas and data from throughout the world in order that those who go overseas to represent this country would know something more than facts and figures on population and rainfall. These Americans would know what makes people operate there; what motivates them; what their dreams, their ideals, and their fears are; and what in their history has led them to support or to fear a given phenomenon.

6. The Academy would keep abreast of the rapidly changing developments in the world, and as situations unfolded they would be observed and evaluated as part of a continuous research effort. America's radio voice, the VOA, was initiated at a time when television was in its infant stage. Today, the vision of America is more vital than the voice of America, and therefore this avenue of presenting the country's face to the world should be explored.

7. The Academy's information function would be helpful to private business in maintaining good relations overseas with host countries and their peoples. U.S. corporations are located in every quarter of the globe, he noted. Many of their executives are eager to help the cause of freedom not only because of patriotism, but because their jobs and investments could be expropriated by Communists. One reason why the "Ugly American" image has hurt U.S. interests has been the lack of training of the businessman. Americans must have sound answers to at least a few of the basic questions of the day asked of them in their overseas posts.

8. The Academy would help to bolster our defense and the defense of other nations not unfriendly to us in resisting communism, he said.

9. It would develop information about the factors which motivate the Communists and the best means to counteract that motivation and help advance democratic processes. We should know exactly what motivates them and "get the demotivator in operation" by giving them a better ideal to fight for, because the Communists are not just a group of people going out to do a job merely because they get paid for it. They have been brainwashed by trained experts who are familiar with the conditioning capacity of the human mind and how to direct its thoughts.



Senator Mundt concluded by stating that the proposed legislation was the most important that the committee and the Congress have ever had before them.

DANIEL J. O'CONNOR

Speaking on behalf of The American Legion, the witness submitted a statement to the following effect:

A considerable number of the American people may have understood communism 45 years ago, but today the complexities of Communist plans and activities have grown to such proportions that perhaps only one in a thousand Americans has a grasp of their machinations. While most U.S. citizens are aware of communism and its grip on Cuba, the problem rests in knowing how to thwart its encroachments before a Communist takeover develops.

The Legion spokesman cautioned that the greatest care must be exercised that this "new beacon of liberty"—the Academy—must never become a haven for anyone who, while professing a belief in the American way of life, yet performs "brilliantly for the proponents of world socialism."

Mr. O'Connor cited an apparent erosion of patriotism on the American scene when he stated, as a case in point, that at a private school in East Williston, Long Island, the boys and girls from upper middle class families refused to salute the flag of the United States. What has happened, he asked, to the fabric of American education which caused the debasement of our traditional salute to the flag symbolic of the love of that for which it stands.

FLOYD OLES, LT. COL. USAR-RET.

Colonel Oles submitted a statement on behalf of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, which included the following passage:

In our extended discussion on this subject at various national meetings it has become clear that there are two primary reasons for our active support of this legislation. First, we are convinced that such an establishment could go far to correct the situation where this Nation seeks to counter professional propaganda and subversion by the use of sporadic and amateur efforts. Secondly, and as a corollary, it seems clear to us that, until we can develop the professional skills which are the objective of the "Freedom Academy", we shall continue to be on the defensive, rather than taking the offensive in a field where the facts of the current world situation provide us ample support for an intelligently directed "cold war" offensive. \* \* \*

STATEMENT ON COMMUNIST TRAINING SCHOOLS BY HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS

Congressman Willis submitted a statement for the record in which he summarized a document which he, as committee chairman, had requested from the Department of State entitled *A Survey of Sino-Soviet Bloc Political Training Establishments for Free World Nationals*. Mr. Willis pointed out that the opening paragraph read as follows:

The Communist Parties of the Sino-Soviet Bloc are currently giving extensive training to Free World Communists

in the operational doctrines, techniques, and major functional programs of political action and political warfare. This training is a strategically important Bloc "export," contributing to the promotion of revolution and attempts to seize power throughout the world.

The document itself, the chairman said, pointed out that it should not be considered exhaustive, since much Communist political warfare training is carried on in secret—particularly sensitive political training projects. Further, he said, the report contains no information concerning the training given by the Communists for the agents of their intelligence services. Nor, he said, does the report carry data about the extensive military training programs and the guerrilla training projects provided by various Communist governments. The report notes that all conventional universities in the Communist bloc countries are Marxist-Leninist in their orientation for the purpose of securing their political goals.

What the report does show is the vast scope of Communist training in all forms of nonmilitary techniques designed to subvert the free world. Mr. Willis highlighted the chief features of the report as follows:

There are at least seven schools of political warfare operating in the Soviet Union, nine in East Germany, nine in Cuba, four in Czechoslovakia, three in Hungary, and two in Bulgaria. In addition, it is known that political warfare schools exist in Communist China, but the exact number is not known.

There are Higher Party Schools in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany, all of which have some foreign students in attendance. The Higher Party School in the Soviet Union trains about 1,500 students per year. About one-half of them come from other nations, and 300 from the free world. The courses vary from 1 year to 4 years in length.

There is an international school for non-bloc Communists in the Soviet Union. Each year it trains about 250 students who come from all over the world, the largest number being from Latin America. Its courses vary in length from 6 months to 2 years.

Red China has specialized training courses for Africans. Students do not have to be members of the Communist Party. In 1960, the course included not only political ideology, but also guerrilla warfare and sabotage. Two-thirds of the course was devoted to training in weapons and military strategy and the use of explosives and sabotage techniques. The remaining third of this course, which was devoted to ideology, taught the students how to introduce Communist organizations and influence into rural areas.

In Cuba, there was an enrollment of approximately 18,830 students in political warfare schools in 1961. The following year, the figure almost doubled, being 36,487. There are also Higher Party Schools in Cuba, plus a school for labor leaders, one for teachers, and one for local security personnel. Five additional schools train Communist leaders, functionaries, and activists. In addition, there are provincial and basic schools and programs for guerrilla warfare and paramilitary training. Students from other Latin American countries study at these schools, but their number is not known.

Three special schools for journalists have been established behind the Iron Curtain during the past few years; one, set up in 1961, is

located in the Roztez Castle near Prague, Czechoslovakia, and is called the Study Center of the Union of Czechoslovak Journalists. Students include Asians, Latin Americans, and Africans, with emphasis on the latter. It specializes in the training of personnel to staff the national press agencies of African countries. The third class to go through this school completed its 6 months' course in May 1963. It included 30 students from six nations, thereby bringing to 50 the number of students trained for Communist work in the sub-Saharan area and Arab-Africa.

A second journalist school, the School of Solidarity for the Training of African Journalists, has been set up in the East Berlin suburb of Buckow. Its first class, graduated in November 1963, included 20 young Africans from eight nations. In 2 previous years of less formal instruction, 1961 and 1962, 16 Africans from eight nations were trained at this school.

A third journalistic Communist political warfare school exists in Budapest, Hungary. It is called the International Center for the Training of Journalists. The student body includes Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans. The school is operated under the auspices of the International Organization of Journalists, Moscow's worldwide Communist front for newspaper writers.

#### ARTHUR E. MEYERHOFF

Mr. Meyerhoff, executive director of the advertising agency of Arthur Meyerhoff Associates, Inc., testified that for 20 years he had conducted research on the subject of the cold war. His work incorporated the following areas of inquiry: 1) Communist propaganda skills; 2) American counterpropaganda efforts; 3) Reluctance of the Department of State and the United States Information Agency to employ a more dynamic approach to offset Communist propaganda; 4) Propaganda resources available to the U.S.A.

The Communist Party employs time-tested techniques used successfully by the American advertising industry, Mr. Meyerhoff testified. Repetition, for example, is a standard Communist procedure, and it is effectively used by Communist media to classify the Soviet-Sino bloc countries as "democratic"; the U.S.A. as "imperial istic."

Secondly, the Communists thoroughly research—as do advertisers—the mores, goals, and behavior of countries and groups selected by them as potential targets of persuasion. The hopes and aspirations of the "customer" country are carefully scrutinized in order that the Communist Party may better understand where that nation's interest rests. And since each area's interest varies, so too does the party's technique of persuasion.

Unfortunately, the U.S.A., in its counterpropaganda efforts, has failed to take into account the falsehoods told about America which have previously been spread by the party in the given countries. Therefore, it begins its counterefforts from a mistaken understanding of America's current image in that locale, the advertising executive told the committee.

The Federal Government's failure to utilize the trained skills of private Americans in the field of advertising has been the result of the antipathy of Government intellectuals toward anything involving

selling or public relations. Overlooked is the fact that diplomatic objectives may be more easily achieved by direct appeals to the motivations of peoples in a given country who, in turn, influence the opinion-makers there.

The witness testified that Government officials had the preconceived notion that advertising men were "hucksters" and "Madison Avenue boys." Further, these policymakers have decided that people must be intellectually challenged—not persuaded—and must search out the truth on their own, without benefit of promotion or "hard sell" measures. Freedom, of and by itself, the witness continued, is viewed by the Federal information specialist in the order of a self-evident truth, which was self-motivating and self-perpetuating. To "sell" freedom or other abstract concepts is to indoctrinate and brainwash, in Washington's view, Meyerhoff said, particularly if presented outside of the officially acceptable modes of Government. Since truth is news and news is composed of both the good and the bad, all aspects should be given equal treatment, according to these information experts, he said.

The fact of the matter is, Meyerhoff observed, that the masses believe a great deal of what they hear—right or wrong—particularly if the subject matter is repeated over and over. Secondly, the mere presentation of both the favorable and unfavorable aspects of American events does not win over any friends for the U.S.A. Freedom must be sold in its own way by the accepted techniques of persuasion—techniques which are also employed today to promote other equally lofty or subtle causes.

The witness quoted President Johnson, who, while Vice President, made a good-will tour abroad in 1961. He stated upon his return that the "United States has not sold itself to the world. A nation that knows how to popularize cornflakes and luxury automobiles ought to be able to tell the world the simple truth about what it is doing, and why it is doing it."

The important thing is that advertising men make their living, Meyerhoff said, "by finding out how to reach people and developing the right words or symbols to get them to act in a predictable way."

The United States Information Agency is long on information, said the advertiser, but short on persuasion, as evidenced by its concentration on lending libraries, information centers, and magazine distribution. Such activities are not designed to present a direct, convincing story that would bring peoples to the side of the free world.

The basic fallacy involved in the operations of the USIA is that it has injected itself into the news business, a function "contrary to the principles of a democratic society." The dissemination of news is a vital function which should be left to the free press and the private, commercial news services. The task which the USIA should be performing, but does not, is to sell America to the world and to expose Sino-Soviet deceptions.

USIA authorities rationalize that the mere broadcasting of news, both good and bad, will convince non-Americans that we tell the truth and that, in the telling, the U.S. Government will be understood. But, Meyerhoff said, the news does not always reflect the truth of what goes on in our country as a whole.

The events which make the headlines are those events which are unusual. That, he said, is why they are headlines. If Americans hear or read of riots or scandals, they relate such events to that which



is otherwise normal, thus placing such events within a balanced perspective. But foreign nationals who know nothing about life in America do not do this. On the contrary, they consider such unpleasant events to be typical and commonplace. Meanwhile, USIA continues to broadcast daily the crime news of America to the world, thereby perpetuating misrepresentations—and misconceptions—of the real U.S.A. The constructive elements within American society can be completely overshadowed by a daily presentation of violence in the press or piped through the airways abroad.

The problem becomes further magnified overseas when the Communists add their own distorted version of American life to that of our official version, he said. It is noteworthy, Meyerhoff testified, that the Communist nations themselves report very little of their own sensational news such as murders or riots. Hence the U.S. image suffers by the obvious contrast.

Furthermore, USIA broadcasts some programs which are erudite and dull, attracting thereby only a small fraction of their potential audience. For example, some themes have dealt with earthquakes, featherbedding, and "unwork," which discussed useless employment in America's superabundant society. The last theme could make little impression upon the captive nations, where the major problem of the people is basic—how to stay alive from day to day, the witness said.

Only by the creative programming of effective messages woven into the daily broadcasting schedule, can the Voice of America hope to reach the largest possible audience. In the U.S.A. the entertainment and advertising industries have teamed together and proven that they have the know-how to achieve the results desired.

The Government must understand that a propaganda offensive can pack the "lethal power of a python," the witness said analogously, and, while a megaton bomb may knock out a city, a megaton of propaganda can knock the resistance out of a continent. The Communists themselves have employed American advertising techniques very effectively within new forms of presentation. In 1917, Lenin harnessed his themes of peace, land, and bread to his mission, and then sloganized these three symbolic words by repetition. The Soviet leader realized that if you control the minds of men it doesn't matter who controls the guns. Psychologically, military weapons will not decide the eventual outcome of the cold war, Meyerhoff said.

The USIA contributed to Communist psychological advances when it published a recent issue of *AMERYKA*, written in Polish for distribution in that unfortunate nation. The 35-page issue, which presented an academic history of the civil rights movement, also used dramatic pictures and language to describe the oppressed peoples of America. The witness evaluated the overall effect of the article on the Polish readers to be that America must be torn by strife. How amused the Reds must be to receive the ammunition freely given them by the U.S. Government, Meyerhoff surmised. The Soviet's version of a similar publication distributed in the U.S.A. is "one heck of a selling job" on their system, he said.

A news function should not be combined with a selling function. Undue emphasis on the negative aspects of one's ideology or product tends to diminish or overshadow an effective presentation of its good points. Freedom and truth will not be accepted on a self-evident

basis unless, in an educational way, their merits are brought to the attention of the people abroad, the witness deducted. A lawyer would be quickly fired, he submitted, if in a court of law he constantly stressed the spectacular, but negative, side of his client's case.

Two ideologies stand before the bar of world opinion, each one fighting for recognition and survival. The Communist uses every trick in the book while the counsel for the U.S.A. merely cites the so-called news facts—often highly damaging to his case—and “conscientiously refuses to persuade the jury of the world,” the witness charged.

Propaganda can have its noble aims too, since the concept, technically, is merely an organized effort to spread particular doctrines. The vehicle of propaganda itself may be misused—but so can a hammer or razor, he told the committee.

The United States has distributed radios abroad which have been pretuned to an American frequency. However, until the art of persuasion is perfected, the vehicle of delivering America's message to the world is unimportant. That, concluded Meyerhoff, is the essence of the issue.

The Soviet Union has large organizations of trained propagandists throughout the world through which it strives to influence masses of people who, in turn, bring pressures to bear upon their own leaders as well as upon the resident diplomats. This, precisely, is one of the motivating factors behind Communist demonstrations in various capitals.

Concluding his testimony, the witness cited four points concerning the proposed Freedom Academy:

1. The Academy should be centralized in its control, independent of other departments, and bold and imaginative in its proposals.

2. Other Federal bodies which are recipients of the Academy's proposals should be expected to cooperate or justify their refusals to do so.

3. The Academy's budget should be sufficiently liberal to carry out its purposes. The United States currently suffers from a tremendous fiscal disadvantage with the U.S.S.R. which, it is estimated, expends annually up to \$2 billion on propaganda projects, while the U.S.A. spends about \$100 million (i.e. one-twentieth of the U.S.S.R. sum).

4. The USIA should be reorganized. Professional personnel from the advertising and public relations businesses should be fully employed in developing a pilot project in the art of ideological persuasion. Telling America's story abroad would be limited to one test country for a given period of time, e.g. 1 or 2 years. Instead of debating theories while politically undecided nations go down the Communist drain, Meyerhoff challenged, let the matter be put to a practical test to see which method produces results.

HON. JOHN H. BUCHANAN, JR.

Mr. Buchanan testified that, since the turn of the century, world communism had made great progress under the guidance of Lenin and a handful of men armed with the ideas of Marx and Engels. With a few thousand men, they took over the Russian Government and then moved forward against the forces of freedom until, at the present

time, they possess one-quarter of the earth's surface containing one-third of its peoples.

The witness stated that within the context of the struggle against communism, the following three mainstreams of American society and culture should be asserted:

1. The Judaeo-Christian tradition of religious faith and morality—the basic framework of Western civilization—had been the first stream in the creation of American society, extending like a “golden thread” through its fabric. This unique feature stands in direct contrast to the militant atheistic philosophy of communism—the essence and heart of its system.

2. America's political tradition of liberty under its law and Constitution is the basic precept of the land. This, as well as representative government at all levels, government of law rather than men, and the division of governmental power to assure the protection of liberty against the concentration of power, compose the elements of the second mainstream. This stream contrasts sharply with communism which has become “stuck” at the stage of dictatorship and totalitarian control.

3. The last principle feature influencing America is its economic system of free and private enterprise, which fits hand in glove with the first two streams, transforming the country's wilderness into a great nation. The result has been the creation of a great middle class and the raising of the standard of living of the American family to an unprecedented level.

All three themes, Mr. Buchanan declared, have produced a golden land of progress and opportunity, a land still dynamic, still moving forward, still breaking new frontiers. Yet, though Government agencies are filled with many sincere and dedicated employees, the United States is not doing a good job of proclaiming what America stands for, because these employees lack adequate preparation and training.

The views of this witness corroborated those expressed by the previous witness on the subject of USIA's treatment of the news. He said that it had been explained to him by officials from that agency that they “accentuate the negative sometimes and report the bad news” about this country because it is going to be reported anyway by the news services. Therefore, they must report the news and then “in time try to explain it satisfactorily.”

The Congressman stated that the superiority of the American system over that of Communist tyranny and totalitarianism, justified the U.S. in “accentuating the positive, in devoting our full attention to bringing the world's attention to the things, the very great many things, that are right about American society.” The creation of the Freedom Academy will serve well toward achieving that end, Mr. Buchanan concluded.

HON. EARL E. T. SMITH

Ambassador Smith testified that one of the major errors of judgment in America's postwar policy is the belief that all revolutions taking place throughout the world are either democratic or Communist, and therefore the United States should aid and abet those in the former category. It is not as simple as that, Mr. Smith said, because many revolutionary groups which call themselves democratic are in reality

either Marxist-oriented or merely the vehicle for "power-hungry" individuals. This error of judgment contributed to the success of Castro's Communist revolution in Cuba, a situation which need not have occurred, since he was not the only alternative to the corrupt Batista.

The Department of State's policymakers believe that a leftist dictator is better than a rightist dictator, and even if the former is anti-American, he is still a better gamble than a dictator who is friendly to the United States. Rather than evaluating a given situation from the point of view of which course best serves this Nation's interest, the Department determines policy by what fits its doctrinaire concept of a futuristic world. A revolution created by a leftist dictator is worthy of support because, in the Department's view, that type is always "progressive"—a determination unsupported by reason, fact, or a realistic appraisal of conditions.

If the policy of the United States is to continue to aid and abet so-called democratic revolutions in the hope that democracy will follow, the witness said, it is essential that the Freedom Academy be established in order that this country may know in advance the origin and nature of each revolutionary group. The failure to have taken a realistic view of Castro's revolution on the part of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Department of State was a result of insufficient attention given to the Communists' long-range research and training programs underlying their capabilities in political warfare.

It was incorrect to assume that Castro was the only opposition to Batista, because a powerful anti-Batista element existed which was not terroristic and which represented the middle class and the intelligentsia within the country. Moreover, the Department had been made aware, through several American Ambassadors in Latin America, of the Communist infiltration and exploitation of Castro's 26th of July Movement and of Fidel's own Communist affiliations as far back as the Communist-inspired uprising in Bogota in 1948.

With the Cuban and the Dominican Republic incidents standing as significant examples, this Nation should now be training men from every country in Latin America in order to avoid repeating the same mistakes of judgment.

Another important area with which the Freedom Academy should concern itself is the decommunization of such nations as Cuba. Its citizens, the Ambassador said, have been living in an intellectual prison for years, while some of the younger Cubans have never had the opportunity to hear or see the other side of life. Plans would now have been underway, in an institute such as the proposed Academy, for the rehabilitation and reeducation of Cubans.

Mr. Smith pointed out that the Department of State's objections to the Academy, and specifically to its information center, as an "indoctrination" vehicle were unfounded and, furthermore, the Department's own publications, slanted to support their policies, contained a greater element or threat of indoctrination than that of the Academy. Academy studies would be factual in nature, rather than self-serving, Ambassador Smith noted.

Mr. Smith concluded his testimony by recommending that one source of students for the Academy could be the chief or First Secretary for Political Affairs in various American Embassies around the world. These officers, he said, occupied sensitive posts, since they



have direct contact with the various political groups in the host nation.

HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD

Congressman Ichord prefaced his statement with the opening remark that the American people seem to be obsessed with the idea that the Communists are going to become less and less belligerent and that they will experience a change of heart. This, at best, he said, is mere wishful thinking, since there is no basis in fact for that belief.

Cannot this Nation afford to spend the relatively small sum called for by the Academy bills for cold war research—an area where admittedly this Nation lags—when it can expend \$6 billion a year for hot war research, an area where it excels? he asked.

Mr. Ichord submitted several newspaper articles which indicated that the U.S. Government was attempting, on a crash basis, to fill the void of professionally trained political warfare specialists in Vietnam. He quoted an article which stated that Mr. Rowan, Director of the USIA, upon his return from a trip to Southeast Asia, had said that the South Vietnam Government was so busy fighting the Viet Cong that it had little time—or know-how—to counteract the Red propaganda offensive there. As a result, about 50 percent of the South Vietnam population are “fence-sitting” politically.

The Congressman said that had the Government closed the American training gap 7 or 8 years ago it would not now be searching so desperately for these specialists.

Concerning the Academy's training of persons in the private sector, Mr. Ichord said that during the Freedom Commission hearings last year a number of journalists testified on the need for cold war training in their profession. The Congressman noted that, since their appearance before the committee, he had seen a number of newspaper articles dealing with the subject, here and abroad, which confirmed the statements of these witnesses. He stressed the need for an Academy where journalists from all over the free world might come to learn about communism and the role of the press in the cold war.

HON. HALE BOGGS

Congressman Boggs, long a supporter of the Freedom Academy concept in the House, testified that both the Soviet Union and the Red Chinese have well-trained agents deployed around the world, particularly in the new developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where they ply their malevolent tactics of agitation, espionage, and subversion, designed to foment revolution and the overthrow of existing governments. With unceasing pressure, he said, these agents are driving to bring more peoples into their dictatorial orbit and will stop at nothing to achieve their diabolical goals.

In Cuba, agents are being trained to export their tactics of non-violent or violent overthrow of other governments in Latin America. The stability of some of the Latin nations was volatile, and “our successes of today could be eclipsed tomorrow, unless we maintain a keen alertness throughout our hemisphere,” he said.

It is most important, Mr. Boggs said, that the United States take new and positive steps, by making full use of American citizens from both the public and private sectors of society, to counter the Com-

munist offensive. The development of the skills required, however, cannot be achieved by means of a correspondence course at home, he emphasized. The best means to provide this specialized training, he concluded, is through the enactment of legislation to establish a Freedom Academy which would make full use of the Nation's finest talent.

The need for such an Academy was pointed up by the events in the Dominican Republic, which revealed that there was a real subversive movement there and that it originated in Cuba. He told the committee of a conversation which he had had recently with the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Latin American Affairs, who told him that it had been estimated that Cuba was spending almost \$1 billion a year on activities having to do with the teaching of terror, subversion, and the overthrow of democratic governments. These funds are not coming from Cuba, but from the U.S.S.R., Red China, and the satellite countries.

DR. WILLIAM B. WALSH

Dr. Walsh, founder and president of Project HOPE, testified that in every aspect of life to which his group had been exposed on three continents, they had found that the Soviets were interested in everything that the United States was doing. In Indonesia, where the Communists were disturbed by the successes of HOPE, a team of 10 persons was assigned to follow the American hospital ship through three different ports. On occasions, the Communist team would precede the ship to port and attempt to frighten the local people to prevent them from visiting the medical ship.

The witness told the committee that these teams would distribute pamphlets and tell the Indonesians that the cameras carried by the doctors and nurses were for purposes of pornographic photography; that the Americans would rape their women rather than treat them; and that their true purpose in port was political not medical, that is, to overthrow the Sukarno government.

Everywhere that the HOPE went, the Soviets were attempting to infiltrate the ranks of the local trainees—and in fact had tried in the United States to penetrate the ranks of the American crew. Since the success of the project depended upon public support, the Communist Party spread rumors and issued press statements to discredit the operation.

Dr. Walsh said that within the context of the cold war such events may seem insignificant, but they were not so unimportant that the Soviets overlooked them. He pointed out that recently their routine investigation of two volunteer physicians—from among the 3,000 U.S. doctors who volunteered each year to serve on the ship—turned up some derogatory information to the effect that the pair were “highly active and dangerous.” These two cases were the 15th and 16th attempts to penetrate Project HOPE. On a few occasions, similar efforts were made to infiltrate the crew by pro-Communists.

Concerning private students who might attend the Academy, Dr. Walsh urged that businessmen stationed overseas should not be overlooked, nor the foreign correspondents of whom many were young and “extremely gullible to propaganda.” The witness cited misleading stories filed by correspondents in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic

as cases in point. In the latter country, a USIA spokesman stated that he wished one reporter there would interview someone other than the rebels before he made his criticisms of U.S. policy.

Speaking on the issue of propaganda, Dr. Walsh said that "we have permitted the Communists to merchandise and to virtually possess the word 'change'," which is a word that belongs to neither the liberals, the conservatives, nor the progressives. However, in Latin America the Communists have so completely taken over the word "change" that when a loyal American tries to support something which is a change for the better, the local people suspect that he must be a Communist.

In Vietnam, medical teams from *HOPE* went into Communist-controlled areas and were never harassed because they treated the Communist wounded as well as the local peoples. The Viet Cong did not have medical men of their own. In South America, young Communist students tried to keep similar teams away, but to no avail. There, the personnel from *HOPE* even taught them a lesson about free enterprise, that is, how to dig a well and market the water in order to buy their own medicine.

In Africa, the doctor said, the problems were compounded by the fact that the nationals looked upon the Americans as European types. Moreover, U.S. officials were always apologizing to the Africans, which is a "very bad thing to do," he said. The African has enough problems without having people from America explaining the civil rights situation here. The African is concerned with his own survival and progress, and furthermore does not know the meaning of civil rights. While the issue of civil rights is a real problem here, it is not necessary to advertise America's domestic problems abroad, or be reticent to speak about the things of which the Nation might be proud. Some Africans sense this national masochistic attitude and utilize it as a form of blackmail by saying in effect, "If you don't do this, it will prove you are really against the Negro."

The feeling that it is necessary to explain this feature of American life is to invite interference in the internal affairs of this country by foreign governments. It has led some American civil rights spokesmen to threaten to excite African nations in order to influence votes in the United Nations concerning America's domestic problems.

The witness confirmed the view of a previous witness concerning USIA publications which presented the seamy side of American life. Dr. Walsh pointed out that when Africans, 90 percent of whom cannot read, see official pictures of strikes and riots, they are being misled, since the captions accompanying the pictures are not explained to them, nor properly interpreted by some of their leaders.

BRIG. GEN. JAMES D. HITTLE, USMC (RET.), ON BEHALF OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE U.S.

General Hittle, director of national security and foreign affairs for the VFW, said that the issue today was a simple and basic one—whether or not the United States, its institutions, and beliefs could survive the protracted conflict. To do so, the Nation must have a clear, definite, and true understanding of communism as a philosophy and as a system. Such knowledge of the enemy, he said, was indispensable to its defeat. For this reason, the Freedom Academy would fulfill the need to provide such authoritative and realistic knowledge

of the dangers of communism, in addition to outlining America's strength and weaknesses. The VFW official position on this vital issue was unanimously adopted in Resolution No. 137 by thousands of delegates while attending their 1964 national convention in Cleveland, Ohio, he said.

The general emphasized that the one crucial question before the Congress was that the composition of the Academy should be such that tolerance, sympathy, or softness in any form toward communism should not be allowed to creep into the curriculum and influence the attitude of Academy personnel. An Academy controlled by persons unsympathetic to its intended purpose would be, in the final analysis, more dangerous than if it had never been created.

HON. JOSEPH S. FARLAND

The chairman of the committee pointed out that an absent witness, the Honorable J. S. Farland, U.S. Ambassador to the Dominican Republic from 1957 to 1960, Ambassador to the Republic of Panama from 1960 to 1963, and former FBI agent, had hoped to testify in support of the Freedom Academy proposal on May 7, but was unable to appear because of illness in his family and a subsequent trip abroad.

STATEMENT OF THE ORDER OF LAFAYETTE

The chairman pointed out at this stage of the hearings that the Order of Lafayette—a body of military officers who served in World Wars I and II—adopted a resolution at a recent convention in Washington on May 8, urging the House and Senate to take affirmative action on the Freedom Academy bills which, the Order said, was a “most important initial measure in a new strategic plan for confronting Communist aggression in the cold war.”

HON. WILLIAM C. DOHERTY

Testifying in support of the Academy, William Doherty, former U.S. Ambassador to Jamaica and American labor leader, said that for 40 years the Communists had developed and refined a number of political warfare techniques to a high level of effectiveness. Such techniques are taught to Communists from all over the world in an extensive network of political institutions in the Communist bloc. The graduates of these schools then return to their respective nations to staff their own national Communist parties and front groups.

They know how to write propaganda in terms which appeal to the interests and attitudes of the local population, and they know how to reproduce and distribute their material.

The Ambassador observed that the Communists know how to utilize groups to further their overall objectives, which have goals only partially compatible with communism. This tactic is achieved by enlisting pacifists and democratic social reformers in movements which are actually aimed more at discrediting free governments and promoting Communist totalitarianism than at the limited and laudable goals to which they superficially appear to be directed. Mr. Doherty said that the graduates of Communist schools know how to organize groups, arrange demonstrations, or convert peaceful picketing



into forceful "mass action." In addition, they know how to employ limited slogans in order to enlist peasants into guerrilla operations which are actually under their control. This ability, he said, gives to the trained Communists an effectiveness out of all proportion to their numbers.

Such expertise in guerrilla and political action brought Mao Tse-tung to power in China, and it was this adroit, energetic political action which allowed the Communists to seize control of the democratic revolution which overthrew Batista in Cuba. Just a few months ago, moreover, a small number of Cuban-trained Communists came very close to maneuvering Zanzibar into the Communist bloc—and the danger is not eliminated today. More recently, another small number of trained Communist agents took advantage of the people of the Dominican Republic, who had been deprived of political experience by 40 years of dictatorship. These agents captured at least partial control of a democratic revolution there—making necessary the intervention of American troops.

One cannot help but speculate, the witness said, on what steps might have been taken earlier to prevent such situations from degenerating to the point that military action was required to stave off the Communists' threat. The free world must take measures to give those who are devoted to democratic action the training needed to overcome this adversary. In addition to training America's diplomats and other personnel, the Academy could train democratic foreign groups, such as farm groups, trade unions, and political parties, in the required skills.

The former Ambassador pointed out that since 1962 the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) had been working in Latin America to strengthen free unions and to bring social progress to their membership. Through local seminars in Latin America, 3-month courses at their capital cities, and additional courses in Washington, D.C., young Latin American trade unionists were taught to administer their unions, to collect dues, to prepare for responsible bargaining—and to detect and foil Communist infiltration tactics. Over 20,000 young Latins, he testified, have received this training.

In addition to the funds received through labor unions, some of the largest firms in the United States contribute funds to the AIFLD. The project is not a government-to-government project but rather a people-to-people endeavor where, together, American business and labor combat communism south of the border, Mr. Doherty declared. The result today is that Latin trainees are now moving into positions of authority within their unions—even displacing in the process former Communist leaders.

Credit unions, housing co-ops, workers' banks, and self-help projects have been aided by AIFLD's efforts. In addition, representatives of AIFLD help agrarian unions to learn better farming techniques and to organize marketing and production co-ops, thereby increasing farm productivity. These programs bring immediate benefits of the type which Communist agitators can only promise for the future—but only after a bloody and costly revolution.

The witness summed up his testimony as follows:

First, the Academy must represent all the main elements of the American political consensus, which would include the full support of the major interest groups and political parties. The Academy will never receive the support it deserves if it becomes the exclusive preserve of only one group.

Secondly, in training foreigners, the Ambassador testified that the Academy should work through the existing democratic groups within the developing areas. To oppose communism, he said, the people must have an alternative program to which they can be as dedicated as the Communists are to Marxism.

Thirdly, the Academy should draw the private sector into its operations as much as possible, because private programs are less suspect overseas than those of the Government.

Finally, Mr. Doherty concluded, while political skills and techniques are important, it is issues, programs, and philosophy which win political campaigns both domestically and abroad in the confused cold war situation. If the policy content of the program is not appealing, all the fine techniques and stratagems accompanying it will not match the social appeal of communism to a desperate population. Political skills can serve only as mechanisms to put across the message.

#### RUFUS C. PHILLIPS III

Mr. Phillips, an expert on psychological warfare and countersubversion, who served in Korea, Laos, and Vietnam, testified that the proposed Academy would fulfill the need for a type of assistance which nations abroad need from the United States and which has been completely lacking in America's foreign policy.

The witness said that, in his opinion, most of the Americans serving abroad with the Federal Government do not understand revolution or organizational communism. For the most part they are not able to work effectively with the local people in a team relationship, whereby ideas could be developed to combat communism and build political institutions. He said that persons had approached him in Southeast Asia requesting the type of training that the Academy would give. However, the witness had to inform them that there was no place for them to go for this specialized instruction, since it was nonexistent. Consequently, "some of us have been conducting, in effect, an on-the-job training program \* \* \* in how to apply democratic techniques in this revolutionary situation in Southeast Asia. And if we have had any success at all, it is because we have been able to speak to the local people on their own terms and to respond to their real problems."

To emphasize his point, Phillips read a portion of a paper prepared by one of the nationalist leaders of South Vietnam, who today is a prominent adviser to that government. This person, the witness added, was very friendly toward the United States. The document stated:

In short, in its aid to the under-developed world in the midst of a revolution for emancipation, the U.S. has never yet fought against the Communists with ideas of Freedom and of Justice but, at least until now, only with bombs and dollars. Instead of assuming the role of a leader, it has confined itself to that of a mere purveyor of means. \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

By ignoring our revolution and the intranational aspect of our anti-Communist fight, the U.S. has jeopardized such a solution instead of helping work for it. \* \* \*

The witness urged the committee to consider what he thought was essential for the Academy, that is, a "great deal" of participation from the private sector. He added that selected foreign nationals should have an opportunity to participate as advisers to the Academy.

Phillips' concern for the proposed institute was that it should not become dominated by a Federal "bureaucratic outlook," since this would impede the establishing of contacts between the school and—through private American organizations—foreign groups. If such an eventuality developed, much of the spirit and dynamism would be lost.

In response to a question from Mr. Ichord about the ability of the Communists to utilize successfully terror tactics on the one hand, while holding out the "sugar plum" with the other, to the peoples of Southeast Asia, Phillips said:

Well, the Communists are quite selective in their terror tactics. You will find that, generally speaking, their direct terrorism is at people who are already fairly firmly committed to our side, and if they are dealing with a group of the population which is fairly neutral, then they will try to select out among that population as targets for their terror those who have some tendency to go against them. They make examples of these people.

The Communists, he explained, had taken over control of the resistance movement against the French and, following the latter's defeat, had left considerable numbers of families with Communist leanings in the southern portions of the country. Since the family system is historically the basic element in Asiatic society, the Communists naturally capitalized on this fact when they came back into South Vietnam. In this sense the Viet Cong had a headstart in the development of their organizational base. Working through the family, they would recruit a man's brother, then his cousin, and so on, gradually strengthening and broadening their base of support. In 1954 and 1955 the Communists in some areas in the south even went as far as to order all their unmarried soldiers to marry local girls, thereby immediately establishing more family allies for their guerrilla warfare activities.

Moreover, Phillips explained, they kidnaped many young men—ranging in age from 10 to 16—in some localities and shipped them to North Vietnam for training, thus assuring that more families and relatives would be involved in the outcome of their movement to communize the south. These young men were sent back to South Vietnam in 1958, 1959, and 1960, and some are still arriving from the north for the purpose of terrorizing their neighbors and cowing the population into submission.

Their next objective, the witness said, was to eliminate all government authority at the lowest levels of the hamlet and village. In the years 1959 and 1960 they assassinated 4,000 to 5,000 local officials, thereby creating an administrative vacuum throughout the rural areas. These positions were soon filled by their own personnel.

## REMARKS BY HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS

Chairman Willis pointed out that as the Communist schools of political warfare have played a history-making role over the past 40 years, so too might the Freedom Academy. The difference, he added, was that the Communist schools were designed to teach men how to destroy and subvert in the interest of an ideology which was the blackest form of reaction, while the Freedom Academy would have the positive purpose of strengthening freedom and spreading it to all parts of the globe. The Academy would supplement the efforts of all groups and organizations which are contributing to the fight for freedom, which is also the fight for peace.

Communism is tyranny, and tyranny promotes war, he said. It is therefore the enemy of a peace that cannot be achieved until communism is destroyed. The Academy's motto might well be entitled "To Peace Through Freedom," because freedom promotes peace, while Communist tyranny is its enemy.

## COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE CHICAGO, ILL., AREA

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities held public hearings in Chicago, Ill., on May 25, 26, and 27 and in Washington, D.C., on June 22, 1965.

The hearings were held pursuant to a committee resolution which also directed that appropriate preliminary investigation be conducted to develop information on the structure and organization of the Illinois District of the Communist Party, its major objectives, the methods it was using to aid in the accomplishment of those objectives, the principal areas of Communist Party concentration, organizations created and controlled by the Communist Party to advance Communist objectives, and related matters.

The hearings were one of a series of investigations into the activities of the Communist Party which the committee has been conducting in various parts of the country over a period of years.

The subjects of inquiry and the legislative purposes were detailed in the chairman's opening statement, delivered by him at the commencement of the hearings. Copies of this statement were made available to each of the subpoenaed witnesses.

Mr. Willis stated that, prior to the hearings and in conformity with House Rule XI, 26(m), all persons concerning whom there might be defamatory, degrading, or incriminatory evidence produced at the hearings had been sent letters notifying them of that possibility. The letters informed them that persons with the same names as theirs had been identified as Communist Party members in executive testimony received by the committee. The letters also advised them that they could avail themselves of an opportunity voluntarily to appear before the committee in executive session prior to the holding of the public hearings, at which time the committee would not only receive their testimony, but consider any request made by them to subpoena additional witnesses.

The chairman pointed out that not one of the persons so notified, including all the subpoenaed witnesses, had availed themselves of this opportunity.



## LOLA BELLE HOLMES

The first witness on May 25 was Miss Lola Belle Holmes, who had joined the Communist Party at the request of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in August of 1957. Prior to her acceptance of this role with the FBI, Miss Holmes testified, she had been contacted by the Bureau, but had rejected its initial request that she become an undercover operative. Miss Holmes testified that later she consented to assist the FBI after considering that she had been active in the Progressive Party in the 1940's and 1950's; that she had come in contact with Communists; that she had been receiving literature from Communist-front organizations and, therefore, could be of assistance to her Government.

Lola Belle Holmes remained a member of the Communist Party until January 24, 1963, at which time she testified for the United States Government before the Subversive Activities Control Board against Claude M. Lightfoot, who was chairman of the Communist Party of Illinois. During those proceedings, Miss Holmes testified to meetings of specific units of the Communist Party which she had attended and at which Lightfoot was present and participating.

Miss Holmes testified that she was born in Waterproof, La., on April 22, 1916, but had lived in Chicago for the past 24 years. Miss Holmes stated that she graduated from high school; had completed 2 years of college in labor law, labor and management relations, and political economy; and had received 7 years of Marxist-Leninist training, including training at the Chicago School of Social Science of the Communist Party of Illinois.

Miss Holmes testified that she had been employed as a power machine operator in the garment industry in Chicago from 1942 until 1958, that her principal employment since 1958 had been as secretary-treasurer of the [Midwest] Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, and that she was currently employed as a staff assistant at the Chicago Urban League.

The testimony of Lola Belle Holmes revealed that she had been a member of Local 212, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), for 12 years while employed in the garment industry, and that she had held various offices in that union. The witness stated that she had been a member of the executive board of Local 212 from 1946 to 1958, when she was dropped from the board "because it had been learned that I was a member of the Communist Party" and the union had a policy of barring known Communist Party members from office.

Miss Holmes testified that another garment worker, Rose Topercer, recruited her into the Communist Party in 1957 and that this same person had failed in an attempt to recruit her in the 1940's. Rose Topercer was finally successful because Miss Holmes had agreed to serve in the Communist Party at the request of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

During her testimony, Miss Holmes discussed in great detail the various party units to which she belonged and the many positions she held while a member of the Communist Party. She stated that she rose from the club level of the Communist Party to the position of an alternate delegate from the State of Illinois to the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party in 1959. When she returned from

that convention in New York, Miss Holmes testified, she was elected a member of the State committee of the Communist Party in Illinois and, subsequently, was appointed to the State board of the party. After being appointed to the State board, she was asked to head the Press Committee of the Communist Party in Illinois. The witness testified that she was also a member of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party of the State of Illinois and that she served on the national Negro Commission of the Communist Party of the United States. Miss Holmes stated that she had also attended meetings of the "Industrial Commission"<sup>1</sup> of the Communist Party of the State of Illinois.

Miss Holmes stated that the function of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party of Illinois was to infiltrate Negro organizations and churches in order to recruit members and carry out party policy. When asked what organizations the Communist Party tried to infiltrate in the State of Illinois, Miss Holmes stated:

They did infiltrate NAACP, the Negro American Labor Council, CORE, the Afro-American Heritage Association, and some churches.

As to the degree of infiltration within these organizations, Miss Holmes related:

In each organization, the Communist Party had a caucus, which was a nucleus of Communists, to work to control and agitate and propagandize in their respective organizations or churches. They did have a caucus in the NAACP. They did have a caucus in the Negro American Labor Council. They also had a caucus in CORE. They also had caucuses in various churches in Chicago. They had people who worked in each specific organization or church.

Miss Holmes testified that the following persons were members of the Communist Party caucus within the NAACP: Leon Jennings, Flo Hall, Sam Kushner, Danny Queen, and herself. Miss Holmes testified that they were appointed to the caucus by Claude Lightfoot in an endeavor to infiltrate the leadership of the NAACP. She stated that she was on the NAACP caucus from 1957 until 1959 and was once nominated as secretary of the NAACP, but that the incumbent defeated her. One member of the Communist Party caucus attempted to destroy the ballots and then the caucus demanded a recount, which was refused by the national office. Subsequently, the party caucus was thrown out. She then stated:

After the party slate was thrown out, the party caucus had a meeting in 1960 and decided to pull its forces out of the

<sup>1</sup> Subsequent to the hearings in Chicago, Lola Belle Holmes, in clarifying her testimony relating to commissions and committees of the Illinois Communist Party, stated that prior to the party's reorganization in July of 1961 the following commissions and committees were in existence:

Commissions: Youth; Negro; Jewish; Education; Trade Union; and Peace.

Committees: Civil Liberties; Housing, Education, Health, and Welfare; Political Action; and Press.

Throughout the hearing record where Miss Holmes uses the term "Industrial Commission," her reference is to the "Trade Union Commission."

She also advised that the terms "commission" and "committee" were used interchangeably by party members and that, to the best of her recollection, the peace body was usually referred to as a "committee," rather than a "commission."

Miss Holmes further noted that, after the reorganization of the Illinois party in 1961, the Education Commission was dissolved and the remaining five commissions—Youth, Negro, Jewish, Trade Union, and Peace—continued to function on a reduced scale, while the education of Communist Party members was carried out at a lower level within the party. The four "committees" also continued to function on a reduced scale.

NAACP because they realized they could not work in the NAACP effectively. They only left two members of the caucus to work in the NAACP.

Of the caucus in the NAACP, the other members were pulled out and a caucus was organized to work in NALC. It was felt that the NALC was more important than NAACP in that it served two purposes: It was a strong trade union movement as well as it was a Negro movement.

According to Miss Holmes, Negro trade unionists decided to organize the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) in October of 1959, and she was one of the founders of the council. Prior to the founding convention, Miss Holmes testified:

There were many meetings of the Communist Party before the NALC caucus to plan party political strategy and tactics in the coming convention. It was the intent of the Communist Party to take over the Negro American Labor Council from A. Philip Randolph.

At the founding convention of the NALC, Lola Belle Holmes was elected as one of the first women national vice presidents. In describing the NALC, Miss Holmes stated:

The Negro American Labor Council was a trade organization organized in 1960 of trade unions to fight for job equality in the labor movement, industry, and Government. It was organized by A. Philip Randolph with trade union leaders all over the country. They definitely were not Communists. As you know, Mr. Randolph is not a Communist and, as I thought, most of the national executive board members or vice presidents were not Communists.

Miss Holmes made it clear in her testimony respecting these two organizations, the NAACP and the NALC, that—

the leadership of either organization did not know that the Communist Party had caucuses working in their respective organizations. When they found it out, they found out who they were, they immediately dropped them from the membership list.

Miss Holmes testified that, in addition to herself, the following persons were members of the Communist Party caucus in the NALC: Leon Joy Jennings, Henry Jennings, Wilberforce Jones, Flo Hall, Sam Kushner, Charles Wilson, and Lucius Armstrong.

Miss Holmes testified that after her election as a vice president of the NALC her prestige began to decline within the party because she "was not the chosen person for that position." As a result, Miss Holmes stated:

The Communist Party began to attack me; I was demoted just as fast as I was promoted. I was then stripped of all the offices I had in a section committee meeting. I was told that I was to withdraw from all party activities.

At this point I refused to withdraw. \* \* \* I pointed out to Claude Lightfoot that it was necessary that I remain on the State board, the State committee, and in the NALC Communist Party caucus \* \* \*.

I was permitted to stay on the State committee, the State board, and in the NALC caucus.

I was permitted to stay on the NALC caucus because of my national ties and the State conventions of the Negro American Labor Council coming up each year. I was a national board member. I went to the national board meetings every 2 months and I came back and reported my activities to the Communist Party. \* \* \*

Regarding her dispute with the Communist Party over her election as vice president of the NALC, Miss Holmes testified that:

The Communist Party regarded this a very important position, but it was not for me, a Negro woman. The Communist Party does not wish Negro women to aspire to leadership in any form or in any organization they wish to control. It is all right to be a member; it is all right to support the Communist Party, but a Negro woman must not aspire to leadership.

Miss Holmes stated that the Communist Party was hypocritical concerning the success of the civil rights movement:

They are not concerned with the success of the civil rights movement. They wish oppression and depression of the Negro people to continue so they can have something to drive on, to work on. The Communist Party cannot be successful without oppression and depression.

In response to the counsel's inquiry as to whether there were any major changes in the structure of the Communist Party while she was a member, Miss Holmes gave the following significant information:

After the Supreme Court ordered the Communist Party to register its membership and register it as a subversive organization, there was the complete changing of the structure of the Communist Party. \* \* \* the section structure was dissolved. The State committee of the Communist Party was divided into three parts: North, South, and West. The executive board, which was a 15-man board, was dissolved at that time and an 8-man board was appointed by the so-called staff of the Communist Party \* \* \*.

In addition, Miss Holmes testified to the fact that for security reasons the Communist Party formed professional groups composed of doctors, lawyers, teachers, preachers, and public officials. These groups were contacted directly by top State or national officers of the Communist Party instead of by the leaders on the club or section levels. She knew of their existence, but, even in her position as a State board member and a State committee member of the Communist Party, she had very little access to any professional groups.

Another very important change in the structure of the Communist Party was explained by Miss Holmes when she stated:

Each club in the Communist Party was ordered to change its name for security reasons. All party members were told to say that they had resigned from the party for security reasons. If anyone asked when, tell them it was their problem



to find out when they resigned. This becomes the famous word, each party member for security reasons had to resign.

Miss Holmes testified at length regarding the two sessions of a State convention of the Communist Party of Illinois which she attended as a delegate from the Wagenknecht Section. Both of these sessions were held in Chicago, the first in November 1959, prior to the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party held in December of that year, and the second session in January 1960, after the national convention in New York. Responding to an inquiry as to whether the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States was its last national convention, Miss Holmes stated:

Yes. That was the last convention of the Communist Party because the Communist Party voted to not have another convention after the Supreme Court rendered its decision [in June 1961] ordering the Communist Party to register its membership.

After this order was handed down, the Communist Party National Committee met and prepared a resolution to present to the State committees asking the State committees to give the national committee or the national executive committee power to act between conventions until this emergency was over, for security reasons.

During the course of her testimony, Miss Holmes identified a number of persons whom she had known to be members of the Communist Party, including the following persons who were witnesses at these hearings: Milton Cohen, Lou Diskin, David Englestein, Ben Friedlander, Charles Wilson, Dorothy Hayes, Leon Joy Jennings, Wilberforce Jones, Versta Miller, and Helen Queen.

Miss Holmes also gave the committee information concerning organizations which the Communist Party had attempted to use, or had used, to recruit members or to promote its ideology.

According to the witness, the Chicago Unemployment and Housing Council had been set up by Claude Lightfoot for the purpose of recruiting Negroes into the Communist Party. Miss Holmes testified that Versta Miller was chairman of this organization.

Miss Holmes testified that during the period of her membership in the Communist Party, she had joined an organization known as the Afro-American Heritage Association and that, for a while, she was an executive board member of the association. The witness also stated that she knew the director of the association, Ishmael Flory, to be a member of the Communist Party and of the national Negro Commission of the party.

Miss Holmes replied in the affirmative when asked whether the Communist Party was interested in a national organization known as the Women Strike for Peace, which was formed in 1961. The witness told the subcommittee that this organization and certain civil rights organizations were discussed and that the Communist Party felt they could be used for propaganda purposes. Therefore—

a caucus was formed to work in the Women Strike for Peace, as well as other civil rights organizations. The people who were to work in the Women Strike for Peace were selected by the party leadership and appointed just as they were in alternate organizations.

Miss Holmes identified Anna Morgan as a member of the Communist Party and as the one designated as the leader of the Communist Party caucus to work in the Women Strike for Peace. Miss Holmes also identified other Communist Party members who were selected to work with Anna Morgan in that organization.

Miss Holmes also testified:

I was familiar with the Women's Peace & Unity Club. I don't know when that was organized. It was organized when I became a member of the Communist Party. However, I know it was infiltrated with the Communist Party members and it carried out party policy.

Miss Holmes also testified that, at the last meeting of the Women's Peace & Unity Club which she had attended as a member of the Communist Party, Lula Saffold was chairman. Miss Holmes identified the following members of the Women's Peace & Unity Club as members of the Communist Party: Lula Saffold, Grace Clark, and Dorothy Hayes.

#### LUCIUS ARMSTRONG

The first witness called to appear before the subcommittee on May 26 was Lucius Armstrong, who testified that he was born in Hollywood, Miss., on March 2, 1900, but that he has lived in Chicago, Ill., since 1923. Prior to 1925, Mr. Armstrong, stated he was employed in a variety of jobs, until he gained employment as a blast furnace keeper at a United States Steel plant in South Chicago, where he remained until he retired in 1963, except for a period during the depression. Mr. Armstrong testified that he has been employed with the Chicago Park District for the past 2 years.

In response to questioning, Mr. Armstrong stated that he had been a member of the Communist Party from 1931 until 1963, with two intervals of interrupted party activity. These were the years 1934 to 1936 and 1948 to 1953. He also testified that when he reentered the Communist Party in 1953 it was at the request of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. From 1953 until he left the Communist Party in 1963, he was at all times acting in cooperation with the Government of the United States.

Mr. Armstrong testified that in the summer of 1931 he joined an organization known as the Unemployment Council, believing at the time that he had thereby become a part of the Communist movement. Through the Unemployment Council, the witness stated, he was recruited into the Communist Party by David Poindexter. The witness testified to the first period of his Communist Party activity by listing some of the offices he had held. Mr. Armstrong pointed out that he was assigned to a unit, became unit organizer, section organizer, a delegate to the national convention in 1933, "I think,"<sup>2</sup> and a member of the national or central committee of the party, all in the period prior to his first break with the party in late 1934.

Following his return to Illinois from the national convention, Mr. Armstrong testified that he was placed on the Control Commission of the Communist Party of the District of Illinois, whose—

business was to discipline Communists who were not so favorable to the Communist Party or to find the evidence

<sup>2</sup> Probably the Eighth National Convention of the Communist Party held April 2-8, 1934, in Cleveland, Ohio.

justifying some decision to be taken on the Communist activity that, you know, was kind of detrimental to the party.

In response to counsel's inquiry as to why Mr. Armstrong was inactive in the Communist Party from 1934 to 1936, he stated that the central committee had a meeting in New York and that—

during this meeting of the central committee the question came up on the Negro struggle.

The questions involved essentially with the Negro nation, and they had certain territories which they called the Black Belt, extending down to Mississippi and Alabama and what-not, the Negro majority. The party was deliberating on what was the greatest setbacks, you know, to the penetration against the desires of the Negro.

The question of white chauvinism in philosophical terms in the Communist language was said to be rampant on the outside and in the South; you know, the party had to break down the white chauvinism against the Negro, but the discussion and deliberation centered around white chauvinism throughout the United States.

\* \* \* \* \*

So, when I got the floor \* \* \* I told the meeting of the central committee \* \* \* that there was as much white chauvinism in the Communist Party itself as there was on the outside, and for that I fell in disrepute with the whole central committee.

Mr. Armstrong testified that from that day on his value as a member of the central committee "fell very low." He said that it was not a recorded break with the party, in the strict sense of the term, but that no one bothered with him or contacted him for some time.

Mr. Armstrong testified that in conjunction with his employment as a blast furnace operator, and with the increase of union activities in the labor movement, he became active again in the Communist Party. He stated that "by the time that we had a union contract in 1937 we did have a party organization in the Chicago section and it was called the Steel Section of the party." According to Armstrong's testimony, he remained in the Steel Section of the Communist Party until 1948 when he left the party because he began to question and have disagreements with party policy and tactics. Armstrong testified that when he reentered the Communist Party in 1953 he once again became active in the steel unit.

However, when he resumed his activity in the Communist Party in 1953, it was at the request of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and he thereafter reported to it on party activities and members. Subsequently, Mr. Armstrong testified, he became a member of the State-board of the Communist Party in Illinois and an alternate delegate to the 1959, 17th National Convention of the Communist Party.

When asked what the Communist Party was trying to do in the United States, Mr. Armstrong stated that:

The Communist Party is trying to fulfill an objective aim of basic communism and that is world domination, and to me a godless concept of humanity.

Mr. Armstrong identified the following persons, who were also witnesses before the subcommittee in Chicago, as members of the Communist Party: Milton Cohen, Ben Friedlander, David Englestein, Wilberforce Jones, Charles Wilson, and Louis Diskin.

Concerning Communist Party security programs respecting professional members of its organizations, such as doctors and lawyers and those persons who had penetrated the Government to any degree, Mr. Armstrong stated that—

under the normal physical conditions for the party to organize and work, my latest understanding of the party organization and procedure was that they always give the professional people privilege to meet by themselves, because the type of discussion and party interest would be entirely different from the general norm of the party.

These professional people had a club for the professional people such as doctors and lawyers and, you know, teachers and other people. This was during the party work.

For many years the party turned loose many professional people, and they disassociated themselves from contact with the party organization. They were not required to attend meetings or to say, you know, I got to go to this Communist thing or that. They were turned loose to work alone on their own.

LOUIS DISKIN

Louis Diskin testified before the subcommittee on May 26, 1965, in response to a subpoena.

Miss Lola Belle Holmes and Mr. Lucius Armstrong had identified Louis Diskin as a member of the Communist Party, and stated that they had known him as such during their active years in the party.

Lola Belle Holmes testified that she had known Louis Diskin as a member of the Wagenknecht Section of the Communist Party; the chairman of the resolutions committee of the State convention of the Communist Party of Illinois; a delegate to the 1959 State convention of the Communist Party; a member of the State committee of the Communist Party of Illinois; a member of the State board of the Communist Party; and a member of the top five-man party staff or executive committee of the State board. According to Miss Holmes, Mr. Diskin was one of her instructors at the Chicago School of Social Science which she described as being controlled and operated by the Communist Party.

In his testimony before the subcommittee, Mr. Armstrong also testified that he had known Louis Diskin to be a member of the Communist Party and a member of the State committee of the Communist Party of Illinois.

When confronted with this testimony, Mr. Diskin invoked the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment and other reasons in refusing to answer. Citing the same reasons, he refused to answer any questions concerning Communist Party membership, past or present.

Mr. Diskin replied to questions concerning his name and address, but, when asked by counsel if he had ever used, or been known by, any name or names other than Harry L. or Louis Diskin, he again in-



voked the fifth amendment and claimed other grounds in refusing to answer.

Mr. Diskin also refused, on the same grounds, to state whether he had been denied a passport by the State Department in 1961 for failing to advise it, upon demand, if he had ever used other names; whether, prior to 1943, he had been a member of the Young Communist League and had been for some years the youth director of the New York District of the Communist Party.

When confronted with a copy of the September-December 1948 catalogue of the Jefferson School of Social Science, which listed Louis Diskin as an instructor at the school and as the "Youth and Veteran Director, Communist Party, N.Y. State," Diskin refused to answer any questions concerning the brochure or any connections he might have had with the school for the reasons previously given.

Earlier, Mr. Diskin had refused, on the grounds previously stated, to answer questions as to whether he had formerly been a resident of New York or if he had been assigned to the Chicago area by the Communist Party to undertake activities there on its behalf.

#### DAVID ENGLESTEIN

David Englestein, the next witness, appeared before the subcommittee on May 26, 1965, in response to a subpoena.

Lola Belle Holmes had testified that David Englestein was a member of the Communist Party; that he attended the 1959 and 1960 sessions of the State convention of the Communist Party of Illinois; that he was chairman of the publicity committee for the State party convention; that he was a delegate to the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party; that he was elected to the governing body of the Communist Party in the State of Illinois, which was known as the State board; that he served as a member of the staff of the Communist Party of the State; and that he had been an instructor at the Chicago School of Social Science.

Lucius Armstrong testified that he had known David Englestein as a member of the Communist Party, a member of the State board of the Communist Party of Illinois, and also that "he was with the educational district committee."

The witness refused to answer all questions put to him at the hearings, invoking the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment and other reasons. He refused to say whether he was a citizen of the United States, what was the date and point of his entry into the United States, whether he was naturalized in Chicago during October 1943, or if he had been known by any name or names other than David Englestein.

When asked whether he had attended or been employed at Commonwealth College in Mena, Ark., during the period 1930 to 1933, after he first arrived in the United States, the witness refused to answer, giving the same reasons. Counsel stated that subsequently the Attorney General cited Commonwealth College as Communist and also that, following an investigation by the Joint Committee of the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas, the charter of that institution had been revoked by the courts of Arkansas. Federal funds were also withdrawn from the institution and it ceased operations, the counsel said.

Counsel noted that, in November 1940, Commonwealth College had been convicted and fined on an anarchy charge.

Mr. Englestein invoked the fifth amendment and other constitutional privileges when asked whether he was a member of the Communist Party during the period of his association with Commonwealth College.

The witness was then asked when he had left Arkansas; if he had used aliases; whether he had been an instructor at the Chicago Workers School in 1935, under the name Eugene David; and whether he had been an instructor for the "Institute on General Crisis of Capitalism" during the 1949 fall term at the Chicago Workers School.

He was confronted with a photostatic copy of a letter dated March 15, 1939, on the letterhead of the Cook County Committee, Communist Party, U.S.A., Chicago, Ill., which was addressed to "Dear Comrade" and signed "Comradely yours, Eugene David, Cook County Secretary." He was then asked whether he was the Eugene David mentioned in the letter and whether or not the signature was his.

Subsequently, he was asked whether he had also used the aliases "David Miller," "Theodore Myron," and "Richard Walter Merle," during the course of his membership in the Communist Party in order to conceal his identity; if he had known Yolanda Hall, who taught a course at the Chicago Workers School in 1949, to be a member of the Communist Party at that time; and whether *The Worker* of April 9, 1950, correctly identified him as the State education director of the Communist Party of Illinois. Mr. Englestein refused to answer these questions, citing the same reasons previously given.

#### MILTON COHEN

Milton Cohen was the fourth witness to appear before the subcommittee on May 26, 1965, in response to a subpoena.

Lola Belle Holmes had testified on May 25 that she had known Milton Cohen as a member of the Communist Party and as a member of the education committee of the Wagenknecht Section and the "Industrial Commission" of the Communist Party for the State of Illinois.

Lucius Armstrong also identified Milton Cohen as a member of the Communist Party and stated that he had seen him in attendance at State committee meetings of the party.

After the witness was sworn, Mr. Pool, acting subcommittee chairman, granted the witness' counsel permission to address the subcommittee on behalf of his client. Counsel for Mr. Cohen stated that Mr. Cohen would not testify on the grounds that the fact of Mr. Cohen having been subpoenaed by the committee was published in the newspapers a few days after service of the subpoena, allegedly in violation of committee Rule XVI; that Mr. Cohen was relying upon the reasons asserted in the legal action pending in the U.S. district court in Chicago entitled *Stamler, et al. v. Willis, et al.*, challenging the right of the committee to hold the hearing, the validity of the subpoena, and the denial of Mr. Cohen's request to be heard in executive session. Mr. Cohen's counsel stated that he and his client were going to leave the hearing room and would not participate any further in the proceedings.

Mr. Pool directed the witness not to leave the hearing room, overruled the objections raised by Mr. Cohen's counsel, and stated that, if the witness left the hearing room, such conduct would make him subject to prosecution for contempt of Congress. Despite this warning,

witness' counsel repeated his instructions to the witness and both Mr. Cohen and his attorney left the hearing room.

#### BENJAMIN MAX FRIEDLANDER

Benjamin Max Friedlander was the fifth subpoenaed witness to appear before the subcommittee on May 26.

Both Lola Belle Holmes and Lucius Armstrong had identified Friedlander as a member of the Communist Party. Miss Holmes testified that Mr. Friedlander had been a delegate to the 1959 Illinois State Convention of the Communist Party and had been elected a member of the Illinois State Committee of the Communist Party at the second session of that convention. Mr. Armstrong testified that he had attended Communist Party meetings with Friedlander and had seen him at State Communist Party meetings.

The witness was asked whether he had ever been known as Max Benzion Friedlander, to which he replied that that was his correct name. Mr. Friedlander refused to reply to all subsequent questions, including the date and place of his birth, by invoking constitutional protections, including the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment.

He was asked if he was a sponsor of a full-page advertisement calling for disarmament and the end of nuclear testing, which appeared in the December 28, 1960, issue of the *Hyde Park Herald*, under the auspices of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy; if he was a member of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy; if he had been elected an officer of that local chapter of SANE, as reported in a copy of the January 23, 1963, issue of the *Hyde Park Herald*; and if he was aware of the opposition of the national committee of SANE to membership in that organization of persons who adhere to Communist or totalitarian doctrines.

#### CHARLES F. WILSON

The next witness who appeared before the subcommittee on May 26, 1965, in response to a subpoena, was Charles F. Wilson.

Lola Belle Holmes and Lucius Armstrong had identified Charles F. Wilson as a member of the Communist Party.

In her testimony, Miss Holmes stated that Charles Wilson was a delegate to the 1959 State Convention of the Communist Party of Illinois; that he was a member of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party of Illinois; and that he was appointed to a Communist Party caucus within the Negro American Labor Council by Claude Lightfoot, in order to work in it and to eventually take it over for the party.

When questioned as to the truth of the testimony concerning him given by Miss Holmes and Mr. Armstrong, the witness invoked the fifth amendment and other reasons in declining to answer.

Giving the same reasons, Mr. Wilson refused to say whether he had been born on September 27, 1910, in Philadelphia, Pa.; whether, since 1946, he has been employed at the General Motors Corporation, Electro-Motive Division, at La Grange, Ill.; and whether he has been a member of Local 719, United Auto Workers Union.

Counsel handed the witness a copy of an article entitled "8 Communists Up For Office In CIO Union Named," which was subtitled

"Head of Local Charges 38 Dominate UAW Branch" and had appeared in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 25, 1946. The witness was asked whether he had been a candidate for office in Local 719 and also a member of the Communist Party, as reportedly charged by the local president, Le Nard Vincent. In refusing to answer, Mr. Wilson cited the same reasons previously given.

In June of 1956, Anzelm Czarnowski had testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that he had been a member of the Communist Party at the request of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and that he had been an employee of the Electro-Motive plant of General Motors from about 1940 until 1951. He stated in his testimony that he had known Charles Wilson as a member of the Communist Party, as a member of Local 719, United Auto Workers, and that Wilson had been a delegate to the State convention of the Communist Party in 1947 and 1948. When confronted with questions regarding Czarnowski's previous testimony before this committee, Mr. Wilson refused to answer by relying on the fifth amendment and other constitutional protections.

Mr. Czarnowski also testified that Charles Wilson had been active in efforts of the Communist Party to sabotage the war effort in Korea by demanding the return of American boys serving in that area and by calling for a stop to the purchase of United States war bonds. When asked by counsel whether this was true and also whether he had joined in petitioning President Eisenhower in 1958 to withdraw United States troops from Lebanon, the witness again refused to answer.

The witness was also asked the following questions, in answer to which he invoked constitutional protections: if he had been a member of the planning committee for a Hiroshima Day meeting scheduled by the Hyde Park-Kenwood Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy in August, as reported in an August 2, 1961, issue of the *Hyde Park Herald* in an article entitled "SANE Committee To Fete Hiroshima Day With Film"; if he had been a member of the membership committee of that chapter of SANE as reported in the January 23, 1963, issue of the *Hyde Park Herald*, which carried an article entitled "SANE Names New Officers"; and if he, Milton Cohen, and Ben Friedlander had been instructed by the Communist Party organization to infiltrate the Chicago Hyde Park-Kenwood chapter of SANE.

Asked whether he was aware of the policy of SANE not to welcome those who adhered to Communist or any other totalitarian doctrines, the witness refused to answer for the reasons previously given and also refused to say whether he had notified the local or national leadership of SANE with regard to his Communist Party membership.

#### WILBERFORCE COX JONES

The last subpoenaed witness to appear before this subcommittee on May 26 was Wilberforce Cox Jones.

During the course of these hearings, Lola Belle Holmes and Lucius Armstrong had identified Wilberforce Cox Jones as a member of the Communist Party.

Miss Holmes testified that she knew Mr. Jones as a member of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party of the State of Illinois. She also stated that Jones was appointed to a Communist Party cau-



cus within the Negro American Labor Council by Claude Lightfoot for the purpose of infiltrating that organization for the Communist Party. When asked whether these statements concerning his Communist Party membership and activities were correct, Mr. Jones invoked the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment and other reasons in his refusal to answer.

The witness was asked whether he had ever been known as Stanley Cox or Bill Price, but invoked the same constitutional grounds in refusing to answer.

Mr. Jones testified that he was born on February 2, 1924, in Nashville, Tenn., but, advancing the same reasons, declined to tell the committee when he arrived in the city of Chicago.

When questioned concerning his education, the witness stated that he had an eighth grade education, a secondary school education, and that he had a college education and some postgraduate work. When asked why he had failed to indicate in his application for employment at International Harvester Company that he had a college education, Mr. Jones declined to answer for reasons previously stated. He also declined, for the same reasons, to answer when asked if he had at any time concealed his educational background or any part of it with the purpose of executing a policy or directive of the Communist Party.

Committee information, placed in the record, revealed that from April 1951 to January 1955 Mr. Jones had been employed in the Chicago area with the Crane Company; from June 1955 to May 1957, at the Tractor Works of the International Harvester Company; from 1957 until 1959, as a social worker for the Cook County Welfare Department; and from 1959 until the present, as a welder at the International Harvester Company.

Mr. Jones refused to answer any questions relating to this employment record, his membership in Local 1301, United Auto Workers, and whether, as a member, he had received a scholarship to study British automation at Oxford University in England.

The witness was questioned about a passport application executed by him on August 2, 1957, in which he had answered "No" to each of the following questions: "Are you now a member of the Communist Party?" "Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" He refused to say whether his answers to these questions had been truthful. He was also queried regarding the "loss" of his passport while in England and whether or not he had told the U.S. consul the truth about the circumstances concerning its loss. Giving the same reasons he had previously, he also refused to answer these questions.

#### VERSTA MILLER

On May 27, 1965, the first witness called to appear before the subcommittee, in response to a subpoena, was Versta Miller.

Miss Lola Belle Holmes had testified that Versta Miller was a member of the Communist Party and that he had chaired one of the meetings of the South Side Section of the Communist Party which she attended. Miss Holmes further testified that Mr. Miller was appointed chairman of an organization entitled "Chicago Unemployment and Housing Council," which had been set up for the purpose of recruiting Negroes into the Communist Party. According to Miss

Holmes, the Communists did this under the pretense that they were fighting for better housing conditions on the south side of Chicago. When questioned as to the truth of Miss Holmes' testimony, Mr. Miller pleaded the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment and other reasons for refusing to answer.

Versta Miller also invoked the fifth amendment and claimed other constitutional protections in refusing to affirm or deny whether: he was born on September 17, 1917, at Shannon, Miss.; he had been a member of the Communist Party in the Chicago area at least since March 1944; he had been a member of the Communist Party when he arrived in the area; he had been directed to the area by any functionary of the Communist Party.

Mr. Miller invoked constitutional privileges when asked whether he had been a member of the regional board of the American Youth for Democracy in 1945;<sup>3</sup> had attended a meeting on September 26, 1959, held under the auspices of the Communist Party of Illinois in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party in the United States; had attended a meeting held on February 19, 1961, sponsored by the Freedom of the Press Committee, which featured an address by Herbert Aptheker, a leading Communist Party theoretician, on the subject of "The Civil War Centennial—a Marxist View"; and finally, as recently as 1964, had attended meetings of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party of the State of Illinois.

#### HELEN PANTAZOPOULOS QUEEN

Helen Pantazopoulos Queen was also called as a witness on May 27, following a brief reappearance by Lola Belle Holmes.

Miss Holmes had stated under oath that she had known Helen Queen as a member of the Communist Party. She testified that she—

first met Mrs. Queen at a Marxist-Leninist cadre training class of the Communist Party taught by Claude Lightfoot, chairman of the Illinois Communist Party, in the year 1958. Mrs. Queen was a Communist in the youth group. The party's method of selecting youth for cadre training was for leadership in the Communist Party. I met Mrs. Queen again at a Marxist-Leninist class at the Lawson YMCA in 1959. I have met Mrs. Queen many, many times in many party meetings of the Communist Party of Illinois as a member of the Young Communists of the Communist Party of Illinois.

When Mrs. Queen was confronted with the testimony of Miss Holmes, she refused to affirm or deny it, basing her refusal on constitutional grounds, including the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment.

Other than giving her name, address, and occupation, Mrs. Queen refused to answer all questions, including those pertaining to Communist Party membership, on the grounds previously stated.

She was asked whether she had participated in making arrangements on December 29, 1960, on behalf of the organizational officers of a national conference of Progressive Youth,<sup>4</sup> which took place Decem-

<sup>3</sup> American Youth for Democracy was cited as Communist by the Attorney General and the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1942.

<sup>4</sup> At this conference the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee (PYOC) was formed for the purpose of creating a new "socialist" oriented youth organization.

ber 30 and 31, 1960, and January 1, 1961, in Chicago. She refused to answer this question on grounds previously indicated. The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, had issued a release concerning this group, in which he stated:

Its purpose is to formulate plans [of the Communist Party] for a new national youth organization—one whose programs and activities will be clandestinely directed by party members.

DOROTHY MIXTER HAYES

Dorothy Mixter Hayes, subpoenaed by the committee, appeared before it on May 27, 1965.

It was the committee's information that Miss Hayes was a graduate of Smith College and held a degree of master of arts in social science from that institution; that she was presently employed as a supervisor of case workers at the Chicago Youth Centers, Lawndale Neighborhood Services, 1512 South Pulaski Road. Miss Hayes was asked whether this information was correct. She refused to respond, invoking the fifth amendment and other reasons in doing so.

Lola Belle Holmes had testified that she had known Dorothy Hayes as a member of the Communist Party and that Miss Hayes was elected to membership on the Illinois State Committee of the Communist Party in January 1960 at the second session of the State convention of the Communist Party. Miss Holmes had also stated that while she was a member of the Women's Peace & Unity Club, which she described as "infiltrated with Communist Party members," Dorothy Hayes was also a member.

In connection with this organization, counsel handed Miss Hayes a copy of an application filed by one Dorothy M. Hayes for a U.S. post office box, dated January 12, 1957, and asked whether she had made this application in her capacity as secretary of the Women's Peace & Unity Club. To this, as well as to all the testimony given by Miss Holmes with respect to the witness' Communist activities, Miss Hayes refused to answer by invoking the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment and other reasons.

The witness was advised that committee information revealed that she had applied for and received passports in 1930 and 1948.

With regard to her first passport, Miss Hayes was questioned concerning the fact that she had asked that it be sent to an organization called The Open Road, Inc., at 20 West 43d Street, New York City. It was pointed out to her that a brochure of The Open Road, Inc., stated it had been organized in 1925 to furnish means whereby Americans with a studious interest in Soviet Russia might visit that country and that it was the only travel organization which maintained its own representative in the Soviet Union at that time. It was also pointed out that in 1948 the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities issued a report which identified The Open Road, Inc., as a Communist-front organization. When asked if she possessed knowledge of its nature at the time she had her passport mailed in care of the organization, the witness refused to answer on the grounds previously stated.

A passport application filed by Miss Hayes in 1948 stated that she planned a 1-month tour of France, England, Switzerland, and Holland, beginning in November of that year. Committee information

revealed that she had traveled to Budapest, Hungary, and attended the Second Congress of the Communist-controlled Women's International Democratic Federation held in December 1948, which she later reported in an interview in a January 1949 issue of *The Worker*. When asked why she failed to mention this trip in her passport application, Miss Hayes refused to answer for reasons previously given.

At this same time, according to committee information, Miss Hayes was a member of an organization known as the Congress of American Women and head of its Chicago chapter, which a report of this committee<sup>5</sup> had identified as an affiliate of the Women's International Democratic Federation, a global Communist front for women. She invoked the self-incrimination privilege when queried about this and whether she had attended the first national and constitutional convention of the Congress of American Women in New York City in May 1949.

Miss Hayes was also asked if she had served as secretary and sponsor of the Illinois Assembly area chapter of the American Peace Crusade in the 1950's and also if she knew that in early 1951 a youth section of the American Peace Crusade, known as American Youth Peace Crusade, was formed in Chicago; whether she knew that Dr. Jeremiah Stamler was the youth coordinator of the American Youth Peace Crusade; and whether she had attended three meetings of the organization in the early 1950's at which he, too, was in attendance. To these questions she invoked the constitutional grounds previously stated.

It was pointed out that in 1953 Miss Hayes again applied for a passport; that she was advised in a letter from the Passport Division of the State Department, dated March 10, 1953, that her application was being denied because, "In your case it has been alleged that you are a Communist and that you have been engaged in Communist Party activities over a protracted period of time"; that she was afforded the opportunity to be heard and to appeal these findings at the Department of State, but failed to do so. Miss Hayes refused to affirm or deny this information by invoking the grounds previously stated.

The committee asked Miss Hayes if at any time during her membership in the Communist Party she had known Dr. Jeremiah Stamler as a member of the party. She refused to answer, invoking the self-incrimination clause.

#### LEON JOY JENNINGS

On May 27, 1965, Leon Joy Jennings appeared before the subcommittee in response to a subpoena.

Lola Belle Holmes had stated under oath that she had known Leon Joy Jennings as a member of the Communist Party; had attended Communist Party meetings with her; had known Mrs. Jennings as a member of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party of Illinois; and had served with her on the national Negro Commission of the Communist Party. Miss Holmes had also testified that she had served on Communist Party caucuses within the NAACP and the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) with Mrs. Jennings. When questioned concerning the testimony of Miss Holmes, the witness refused

<sup>5</sup> Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953, *Report on the Congress of American Women*, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949.



to answer by invoking the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment and other reasons.

On the same grounds, Mrs. Jennings refused to affirm or deny committee information that she quit the Communist Party in 1961, not for ideological reasons, but because of a dispute with one of its officials over a party matter. Mrs. Jennings also refused to state whether she had had any further contact with the Communist Party or had cooperated with it since that time.

The witness continued to plead self-incrimination when asked whether, under the name of Leon Gurley, she had been a member of the national council from the State of Illinois to the Second National Convention of the American Youth for Democracy in 1946, and whether she had served as vice chairman of the Illinois State organization of AYD. The AYD had succeeded the Young Communist League in 1943.

On the same grounds, Mrs. Jennings refused to affirm or deny committee information that in the years 1956 and 1957 she had attended some meetings of the Communist Party at the residence of Dr. Jeremiah Stamler at which Rose Stamler, the wife of Dr. Stamler, occasionally acted as chairman.

#### LAURA RAE BLOUGH

The next witness to appear before the subcommittee on May 27 was Laura Rae Blough.

Invoking the self-incrimination privilege and other grounds, Mrs. Blough refused to affirm or deny the following information concerning her identity: that she was born in Ohio on April 12, 1931; that she came to Chicago in 1949 known as Laura Rae Atkinson; that subsequent to her arrival in Chicago, and as a result of a marriage, she was known as Laura Rae Lerman; that she had attended Mission High School in San Francisco from 1947 to 1949; State University of Kent, Ohio, in 1953; Los Angeles Valley College in 1961 or 1962; and San Francisco State College from 1963 to and including the date of her testimony.

Committee investigation revealed that during her stay in Chicago in 1949 and 1950 Mrs. Blough had resided at the home of her aunt, Florence Criley.

In earlier hearings of the committee, Mrs. Blough had been identified as a member of the Communist Party by former Communist Lee Lundgren and by Dorothy M. Jeffers, former undercover operative for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. Lundgren, a resident of Chicago and field representative for the United Electrical Workers and secretary-treasurer of its Local 1150, testified in public hearings in September 1952 that he had been a member of the Communist Party from 1945 to January 1950, during the time that he had been employed on the staff of the UE. Mr. Lundgren had also previously testified in executive hearings in September 1951. At that time he recalled a meeting of Communist Party members in UE Local 1150, who met at the home of Willie Mae Smith on December 16, 1949, in Chicago. He testified that Laura Atkinson, employed at Sunbeam, was in attendance at that meeting.

On June 21, 1957, the committee received testimony from Mrs. Dorothy M. Jeffers, who served as an FBI undercover operative in the

Communist Party from about 1942 until 1952. Mrs. Jeffers had been a member of a professional club of the Communist Party in the San Francisco area during that period and testified that Laura Atkinson had been a member of her professional group.

When confronted with this information, Mrs. Blough invoked the self-incrimination clause and other grounds for refusing to affirm or deny it.

Chairman Willis stated that it was his understanding that Mrs. Blough had at one time agreed, at a meeting with one of the committee investigators, to discuss matters within her knowledge but that subsequently she told the same investigator that she had discussed the matter with a professor and that she had been advised by him not to talk to the committee. Mrs. Blough replied that she had discussed with the investigator only matters concerned with financing her trip to Washington.

The committee possessed information which revealed that, during her residence in Chicago, Mrs. Blough had been advised by Dr. Jeremiah Stamler that she was one of several persons chosen by the party to give up their identity and to move to new areas in order to carry on in case the Communist Party leaders were imprisoned and that subsequently she had been instructed by Dr. Stamler to go to Toledo, Ohio, which she did. Mrs. Blough declined to answer questions on this subject for reasons previously asserted.

When asked whether she had known—at the time she accepted Dr. Stamler's direction to go to Toledo—that he was one of the individuals in charge of setting up the Communist Party's underground, Mrs. Blough again refused to answer.

#### YOLANDA HALL

Yolanda Hall was the next witness to appear before this subcommittee on May 27.

Mrs. Hall was and is employed on the staff of Dr. Jeremiah Stamler as a research nutritionist for the Heart Disease Control Program of the Chicago Board of Health and for the Chicago Health Research Foundation. Mrs. Hall had appeared as a witness on behalf of Eugene Dennis and other top Communist Party leaders in their 1949 Smith Act trials and testified on direct examination on July 28, 1949, that she had joined the Communist Party in 1939, while a student at Chicago Teachers College, from which she graduated with a degree of bachelor of education. In her complaint filed in the case of *Stamler and Hall v. Willis, et al.*, she also set forth that she holds a degree of master of science awarded by the Department of Home Economics of the Illinois Institute of Technology.

The witness was sworn and answered questions as to her name and address. When asked to give her date and place of birth, Mr. Albert E. Jenner addressed the subcommittee on behalf of his client, Mrs. Hall. Mr. Jenner said that he and Mr. Thomas P. Sullivan, co-counsel, had requested in a letter to the committee dated May 24, 1965, that the testimony of Mrs. Hall and Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, whom they also represented, be taken in executive session. He noted that this request encompassed not only their testimony, but also any testimony concerning them given by other witnesses. Mr. Jenner repeated this request and claimed that, if it were denied, it would constitute "an

abuse of discretion and a violation of rule 26(m) of the Rules of the House of Representatives \* \* \*."

The subcommittee denied Mr. Jenner's requests. Mr. Willis pointed out that the committee had complied with Rule XI, 26(m), and other applicable rules of the House and of this committee. He read the letter to Mrs. Hall dated May 11, 1965. This letter afforded Mrs. Hall the opportunity to appear voluntarily before a subcommittee in executive session prior to the holding of public hearings and to request that additional witnesses be subpoenaed by the committee. Mr. Willis reiterated his earlier statement that none of the witnesses, including Mrs. Hall, had availed themselves of this opportunity.

In reply, Mr. Jenner questioned the validity of the letter the committee had sent to Mrs. Hall and repeated the following requests on behalf of his clients: that their testimony be taken in executive session; that he be afforded the opportunity in executive session to examine witnesses and evidence, documentary and otherwise, taken in executive session relating to Mrs. Hall and Dr. Stamler; and that he be afforded the opportunity of cross-examining the committee counsel. Chairman Willis denied these requests.

Mr. Jenner then asked the committee to postpone further proceedings pending determination of responsibility for an alleged violation of committee Rule XVI (which prohibits any member of the committee or staff from making public the name of any subpoenaed witness prior to the date of his appearance). The subcommittee denied this motion.

Mr. Jenner next incorporated in the record by reference the objections made in the suit of *Stamler, et al. v. Willis, et al.* He further urged lack of due process, deprivation of right to counsel, and argued that the plaintiffs (Stamler and Hall) in the Stamler suit should not be compelled to testify while it was pending on appeal. For all such reasons, Mr. Jenner moved that the committee quash the subpoenas served upon Mrs. Hall and Dr. Stamler. The subcommittee denied this motion.

When committee counsel repeated the question calling for the witness' date and place of birth, she refused to answer, stating that she adopted and confirmed all that her counsel had stated; that she declined to give any information or testimony or further cooperate with the committee; and that, if and when the litigation instituted by her was terminated adversely to her position, she would return before the committee, or subcommittee, in accordance with the subpoena served on her.

The chairman directed the witness to answer the question.

Mr. Sullivan ordered Mrs. Hall to "go" from the hearing room.

Mrs. Hall was warned that she might be in contempt in leaving the hearing room. Thereupon, Mrs. Hall left the room.

#### RECALL OF LUCIUS ARMSTRONG

Mr. Armstrong was recalled to resume his testimony regarding professional groups within the Communist Party, with particular reference to a top-level meeting which was held in his home in June 1959. With respect to this meeting, Mr. Armstrong stated:

This meeting was of such importance it was not a joint understanding and procedure in the party. There were cer-

tain organizational steps taken so that certain people, especially people in industry, party people in industry, knew that there were certain people going underground, completely detached from any party ties or any party regulation, operating completely on their own, and we were discussing in this high-level meeting these people.

Claude Lightfoot was the one who had the information from the national committee on the operations of the party, you know, in this field. The people were professional people; people valuable to the trade union movement. Some people, you know, were doing other work—I won't say what, going into Cuba and other places.

In response to counsel's question as to whether the name of Dr. Jeremiah Stamler had been mentioned at this meeting, Mr. Armstrong replied in the affirmative. Mr. Armstrong testified that he himself did not know Dr. Stamler but that he was mentioned by Claude Lightfoot. Mr. Armstrong reported the reference to Dr. Stamler as follows:

Well, he [Claude Lightfoot] said that there was a noted heart specialist by the name of Jeremiah Stamler and he was a loyal party member doing good work among the professional people. He did not discuss in detail and that is about the gist of it. \* \* \*

#### JEREMIAH STAMLER

Dr. Jeremiah Stamler was the final witness to appear before the subcommittee in Chicago on May 27, 1965. As previously stated, Dr. Stamler was accompanied to the hearing by his attorneys, Albert E. Jenner, Jr., and Thomas P. Sullivan.

Dr. Stamler was sworn as a witness and answered a question as to his name and address. When asked to give his place and date of birth, Mr. Jenner requested, on behalf of Dr. Stamler, that the statements and requests that he made on behalf of Mrs. Hall be applicable also to Dr. Stamler, to which the subcommittee agreed.

The pending question was then repeated. Dr. Stamler did not answer this question, but made a statement similar to that of Mrs. Hall's quoted above. The chairman then directed Dr. Stamler to answer the question and not to leave the room until he had answered it and others to be propounded. Dr. Stamler thereupon left the room.

#### MATHILDE BURKE

The hearings were continued in Washington, D.C., on June 22, 1965. Mrs. Mathilde Burke who was heard in an executive session on that date was ill at the time of the hearings in Chicago and the subcommittee had therefore postponed her appearance.

Mrs. Burke testified that she was born Mathilde Lea Helene Peereboon, in Amsterdam, Holland, on June 20, 1932, and had immigrated to the United States with her mother in December of 1946. She stated that since her entry into the United States she has resided in Chicago.

The witness testified that she was married to Dr. Gerald Burke on April 8, 1964. Regarding her formal education, Mrs. Burke testified that she had attended lyceum in Holland from 1945 to 1946, spent a year or so at the University of Chicago sometime in the early 1950's,



and had taken some evening courses at Roosevelt University in Chicago but could not remember the exact dates.

While attending the University of Chicago in the early 1950's, Mrs. Burke stated that she was employed at the Michael Reese Hospital on a part-time basis from 1948 until 1951, and full time from 1951 until May 1964.

The committee's investigation revealed that Mrs. Burke had been a member of the Communist Party during the course of her employment at the Michael Reese Hospital.

When confronted with this information, Mrs. Burke refused to answer, citing both the first amendment and the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment.

When confronted with the fact that it was the committee's information that in 1956 Mrs. Burke was a member of the South Side Section or group of the Communist Party in Chicago, the witness replied that she would stand on her statement. The witness was asked whether it was true that she had attended meetings along with other Communist Party members at the home of Dr. Stamler in the late fifties, according to committee information. Again the witness refused to answer, relying on her statement.

A recess was taken. The subcommittee reconvened, and Mr. Pool, acting subcommittee chairman, announced that after considering what had taken place in executive session, the subcommittee unanimously agreed to hold an open session. The hearing was then held in open session, and the witness was questioned along lines similar to those pursued in the executive session.

Again Mrs. Burke was asked whether, during her employment at Michael Reese Hospital in Chicago, she had been acquainted with Mrs. Rose Stamler and Dr. Jeremiah Stamler. In refusing to reply to this question, Mrs. Burke relied upon the first and fifth amendments as in her prior statements.

Mrs. Burke was again asked if she had ever been a member of the Communist Party, to which she replied that she would stand on her statement.

She also refused to respond to questions based on committee information as to whether in 1956 she was a member of the South Side Section of the Communist Party; whether at that time, or subsequently, she was a member of the Communist Party group of which Rose Stamler served as chairman; whether in the late 1950's she had attended Communist Party meetings at the residence of Dr. and Mrs. Jeremiah Stamler; and whether, at Communist Party meetings held in the Stamler residence, Leon Gurley, now known as Leon Joy Jennings, Milton Cohen, and Benjamin Max Friedlander were also in attendance; whether during the course of her membership in the Communist Party she knew Yolanda Hall. In refusing to reply to these and other questions she declared that she stood on her statement.

#### TESTIMONY OF JUANITA CASTRO RUZ

On June 11, 1965, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, chaired by the Honorable Edwin E. Willis of Louisiana, received testimony from Juanita Castro Ruz, sister of Fidel Castro, pursuant to a resolution adopted by the committee on June 3, 1965. This hearing was a continuation of the committee's

investigation into pro-Castro propaganda activities in the United States and illegal travel in connection with these activities. The resolution authorized the committee to receive sworn statements relating to:

- (a) Communist propaganda activities in the United States conducted in support of the Communist regime in Cuba, or for the purpose of advancing the policies and objectives of the world Communist movement in Latin America generally,
- (b) the activities of United States citizens acting on behalf of, or in the interest of, foreign Communist principals, \* \* \*

Prior to the interrogatory portion of her testimony, Miss Castro offered an opening statement explaining her reasons for exposing Castro's plans for Communist intervention and aggression in the Americas. She told the committee that she was doing so "in the name of the inescapable duty of all individuals and institutions—who believe in the ideals of liberty and justice—to act firmly to preserve our Christian civilization."

Miss Castro warned that aggressive communism and the pro-Communist minorities serving as its tools in various countries would never renounce their purpose to extend communism's borders by intervention and force—although they may at times swear that they are following the "coexistence line."

The danger of communism, she said, is unrelated to the number of party members or agents in any given country, but rather to the continuous activities and constant deceit of its fanatical minority. Its immediate aim is to gain followers and use liberal and progressive-minded individuals who are ignorant of the danger of communism to themselves and to their countries. The witness testified that: "Those of us in Cuba who believed sincerely in freedom, peace, work, the right to happiness, and social progress were used by the Communist minority."

When the Cuban revolutionists came to power, the Communist minority, which at the time was not thought to be dangerous, seized the revolution; enslaved the Cuban people; surrendered the country to Communist imperialism; and thwarted all hope for peace, justice, freedom, and social progress. Miss Castro stressed that no one can be a revolutionary, a democrat, a liberal, a pacifist, or a progressive if one is not also anti-Communist, because communism is the exact opposite of a progressive democracy. Those who wish to follow the example of the ostrich, she cautioned, and those who become afraid or who believe that they will have no problem as long as they do not oppose Communist minorities are entirely wrong. They will be the first victims of the Communist minorities when they come into power. Those individuals in Communist countries who did not oppose communism or were its allies, directly or indirectly, have now become its victims—as have their nations. Communist leaders like Fidel Castro wish nothing more than to be confronted by irresolute, timid liberals and pacifists who are their best allies, she testified.

Miss Castro said that her brother is planning to take over the entire hemisphere. Therefore, firm, decisive action by the Organization of American States (OAS) is necessary—action like that taken by the United States in the Dominican Republic. But, while the OAS holds discussions, the Communist minorities take over still more popular movements in Latin American countries.

Miss Castro concluded her opening statement by saying that the free world should not let itself be misguided by the fanatical outcries of Communist minorities or their unwitting instruments, but rather should listen to the democratic majorities who will support actions to save their nations.

Miss Castro testified that she had worked for the success of the revolutionary movement in Cuba since 1953, following the attack by Castro against Batista's military barracks in Oriente. She continued to support the movement after Castro's regime took over the country on January 1, 1959. Prior to his victory, the witness had traveled abroad several times to raise funds for Castro and, in addition, had worked with anti-Batista resistance groups on the island. After realizing that Castro had "betrayed" the revolution and deceived the Cuban people, she left Cuba on June 20, 1964, and came to the U.S.A. via Mexico. Her close relationship with her brothers, Fidel and Raul, had enabled her to find out about the injustices to, and the sorrows of, many Cubans who were beginning to live under a "reign of terror."

Her brother Fidel betrayed the Cuban people by breaking his promise to hold free elections within 18 months after his seizure of the government. The first action which Castro took with his new powers was to destroy freedom of the press, radio, and all other news media and to convert these to his regime's own ends. Churches and religious institutions were destroyed, and their priests and ministers expelled from the country. Thereafter, the people were allowed to practice but one religion—communism. Schools were taken over and used for the indoctrination of Cuban youth. New textbooks were substituted and from the first pages of these books, the children were taught, to quote Miss Castro, "The one thing they could not do was to believe in God." These textbooks also contained the new words and slogans of Marxism-Leninism, as well as the names of the leading personalities of the regime. Castro's government used Negroes for propaganda purposes but, because they, too, opposed the regime, Negroes have suffered the same persecutions and injustices as everyone else.

No one in Cuba has any legal rights such as the presentation of charges, jury trial, appeals, etc. Persons who are out of favor with Castro are put to the wall and shot, with the exception of those who are used in prearranged propaganda trials.

While the vast majority of Cubans are against the regime, it is difficult to revolt since the Communists have created an incredibly repressive machine. However, Miss Castro said, there are persons in high places in government who are plotting against Castro and who remain on the island to continue to subvert his rule.

Red Cuba has developed schools of indoctrination which train youths from different countries in guerrilla warfare tactics. These "students" arrive in Cuba with "scholarships," but such scholarships are for subversive purposes. When their training is completed, the youths return to conspire against their own democratic governments. Moreover, the regime budgets vast amounts of funds to beam radio programs abroad and to ship printed propaganda to various countries. The witness said that Robert Williams, an American fugitive from justice, directs a Havana radio program that broadcasts anti-American propaganda to the Negroes of the U.S.A.

Concerning other pro-Castro activities by Americans, Miss Castro told about the trips to Cuba organized by the New York City-based Student Committee for Travel to Cuba. (See five-volume set of hearings by this committee on subject.) The witness said that 59 American students visited Cuba in June 1963 at the invitation of the Cuban Federation of University Students and the Cuban Institute for Friendship Among the Peoples. The purpose in inviting the young Americans to make the trip was the hope that when they returned home they would become Castro's propagandists by repeating the "watchwords" (i.e. party line) of the Communists.

She said that the Cuban Government financed the trip and probably gave the students the money through the Cuban delegation at the United Nations. The fact that the U.S. Government had warned the students not to go to Cuba, she said, made Fidel "very happy," since the trip then became one more way to "laugh" at the laws of the U.S.

Castro has an obsession to destroy the U.S.A. and his "feelings of hatred for this country in particular cannot even be imagined by Americans." Moreover, Castro knows that the main obstacle against his future hemispheric plans is the U.S. Subverting law and order in America or weakening it in general facilitates Castro's ambition to take over all of Latin America, she stated.

The witness said that her suspicions that the Cuban revolutionary government was actually Communist led developed about 6 months after Castro took over power—about the middle of 1959. At that time Castro began to censor the press and infiltrate the ranks of the army with Communists. Other injustices were taking place daily. She also learned that the regime was going to make its move against religion and the schools. However, it was not until December 1, 1961, that Castro declared that he was a Marxist-Leninist. He belonged to and directed PURS, the United Party of the Socialist Revolution.

Concerning the Peking-Moscow dispute, the witness said that the U.S.S.R. exerted great influence on Cuba, but Castro had always been friendly towards Red China and the so-called hard line. He "has his heart in Peking and his stomach in Moscow," Miss Castro remarked.

On the subject of the Cuban standard of living, Miss Castro said that the Communists had reduced the Cuban people to the lowest living standards in Cuban history. Former social improvements which had made the worker's life a bit easier were taken away, one by one, until he became a slave. Bargaining rights and the right to strike were rescinded because the labor unions were under direct orders of the Communist Government.

Turning to industry, Miss Castro said that when her brother came to power, he devoted himself to the task of destroying the sugar industry, the country's principal business. Castro believed that the island's economy should be diversified agriculturally, as well as industrially. He therefore ordered the destruction of many sugar cane fields. He talked about creating new industries and assumed the U.S.S.R. would send Cuba whatever equipment was necessary in order to diversify industrially. Under his agrarian reform program, Castro promised the peasants their own land, but did not fulfill his promise. As time went on, they saw the country's wealth and their own livelihood disap-



pear. Today, in spite of Castro's threats, the peasant groups refuse to cooperate with him, particularly in working the so-called cooperatives or people's farms. As a result Castro has been forced to recruit city workers, students, public servants, and even schoolchildren to do the farm work.

The witness' brother also confiscated all the sugar mills, many of which were dismantled and shipped to the U.S.S.R. as collateral for Cuba's imports of Soviet arms and ammunition. Sugar production is therefore now lower than it was 10 years ago. In 1952 Cuba produced 7 million tons of sugar, but 1 year after Castro took power production had decreased to only 3½ million tons. Today, almost no one has any money, and those who do, have found that it is worthless since there are no goods to buy—no food, clothes, shoes, or medical supplies, she said.

The committee chairman, Mr. Willis, informed the witness that when the American students returned from Cuba they had painted an entirely different picture from that which she had described. The witness said this was the result of two factors: the procommunism of the visiting Americans and the fact that they had no chance in Cuba to see for themselves what the real facts were since their official guides were trained to prevent that. The U.S. students did not go into the homes of any Cuban families to find out, for example, what they had to eat. Unlike the Cubans, the students were not required to have ration cards and, therefore, could eat and buy things which Cubans—who lack even the most basic commodities—could not obtain. For example, a family of five or less persons was not allowed to have fresh milk. They received only one quarter of a pound of meat per week and for many weeks at a time did not get that much.

The witness pointed out that her brother made his first contact with members of the Communist Party in 1955, during a visit to Mexico. She also said that her younger brother, Raul Castro, made a trip to a Communist Youth Congress in Europe in 1953. Raul was first attracted to communism when he was a student at the University of Havana where he became "more and more enthusiastic" about Marxism.

On the subject of Soviet troops in Cuba, the witness said that she was first informed about their arrival in the early part of 1962. Moreover, she also knew about their missile bases about 6 months before the U.S. publicly announced the fact in October 1962.

The witness said that Castro has sent aid to the Viet Cong and that he regretted only that they were not closer to Cuba in order that he might offer them much greater aid.

She said she was "certain" that the Cuban delegation to the U.N. was active in espionage tasks and stated that Communist agents from Cuba have infiltrated the United States. The principal agency in Cuba responsible for sending Communist propaganda to the United States is the National Printing Office of Cuba, a government department which prepares and distributes propaganda to all foreign nations.

The witness spoke about Castro's pro-Cuban front groups. She said that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee worked directly with the Cuban Government. She said that her brother had met personally with Carleton Beals, Waldo Frank, Robert Williams, and Bob Taber, founders of the FPCC.

Miss Castro said that she had met Dr. Martha Frayde, one of the founders of the Cuban Communist Party, who was the liaison link with the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee.

Miss Castro said that the American students who visited Cuba in 1964 contacted the people in the Russian and Red Chinese Embassies. She testified that Edward Lemansky, an organizer for the Progressive Labor Movement and a leader of the second group of American students to visit Cuba in 1964, had held a press conference in Cuba during which he condemned U.S. policies in Vietnam. Moreover, the student group signed a statement while in Cuba in which they supported the struggle of "the peoples of Vietnam and Venezuela" (i.e. the Communist and pro-Communist insurgents).

Miss Castro mentioned that the Communist Cuban Government had always been interested in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. Nationals from the latter had been receiving training in Cuba with the hope that eventually their Communist minority might take over a popular movement and finally the Dominican Republic itself—as their efforts in Santo Domingo indicated. Cuba is also the main training base for Panamanians, as well as nationals from other Latin American republics. One of the training schools was the Minas del Frio in the Sierra Maestra Mountains.

Alberto Bayo, the man responsible for training Castro's guerrillas in Mexico prior to the Cuban takeover, is currently training groups from other nations in Cuba in subversion and guerrilla warfare, Miss Castro said.

The witness pointed out parenthetically that the anti-Castro colony in exile in the U.S. has been "widely infiltrated."

The Cuban Government is aiding other Communist-led groups throughout the world by means of its merchant marine and fishing boats. The *Sierra Maestra*, a Cuban vessel, has made several arms-laden trips to China, while another ship of the merchant marine, the *Aracelio Iglesias*, services Africa. The fishing fleet is used primarily to support the revolutionaries in Latin America, she said. Printed propaganda distribution is handled by air service, through the Cuban airlines.

On the subject of indoctrination in Cuba itself, the witness said that the regime is attempting to destroy the family unit by destroying its foundation. It attacks the child-parent relationship by creating disrespect for parents and then promoting the state as the only true "parent." At the age of 3, the first words which the children learn are "Fidel," "Raul," "Che," and "revolution." At 7, the youngsters must join the Union Pioneers of Cuba, a Communist group, and at the age of 12 they join the Union of Communist Youth.

In response to a question concerning Castro's most ardent supporters in the United States, Miss Castro said that several times she had heard Fidel "personally mention as his greatest friends in the United States Messrs. Herbert Matthews, Carleton Beals, and Waldo Frank." Mr. Matthews of the *New York Times* "publishes only that which he thinks is convenient or helpful for the Communist regime," she said. And when he visits Cuba, he never tries to "get close to the workingman" or ask him what the real conditions are in Cuba.

## HEARINGS ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities held 12 days of hearings in Washington, D.C., between October 19 and November 4, 1965, on the activities of Ku Klux Klan organizations. The subcommittee members were: Representatives Edwin E. Willis (D-La.), chairman; Joe R. Pool (D-Tex.); Charles L. Weltner (D-Ga.); John M. Ashbrook (R-Ohio); and John H. Buchanan, Jr. (R-Ala.).

Early in January 1965, the chairman had directed the staff to make a preliminary inquiry into Klan organizations. At a meeting held on February 2, the committee unanimously adopted a resolution directing the chairman to continue the preliminary inquiry. On March 30, 1965, the chairman made a report to the committee outlining the results of that inquiry. Thereupon the committee unanimously adopted a resolution approving a full-scale investigation and public hearings for the purpose of aiding Congress in passing remedial legislation. On April 14, the House, by a vote of 312 to 43, approved H.R. 310, authorizing a supplemental appropriation of \$50,000 for the committee to conduct the Klan investigation.

On October 19, the opening day of the hearings, the chairman outlined the kind of information about the Klans which Congress would need to enact effective legislation. It must, he said, know—

[A] the objectives and purposes of the Ku Klux Klans, their structure and organization, their affiliated organizations, and groups created or controlled by them or organized to support, defend, and assist them. \* \* \*

[B] the type of activities in which they engage, how they are controlled, who their key officers are, how Klan groups are financed, and what their funds are used for. \* \* \*

[C] whether the Klans subscribe to—and use—illegal means to achieve either declared or concealed objectives. \* \* \* It must know whether Klan recruits are informed of the true nature and purposes of the Klans—or whether they are hoodwinked into joining them. \* \* \*

Inasmuch as the Klan hearings will be continued in 1966 and a comprehensive report on Klan organizations and activities released after their completion, only a brief and general summary of the 1965 hearings is presented in this report.

Mr. Donald Appell, the committee's chief investigator and first witness, gave the subcommittee members a brief history of the Klan movement and Federal legislation relating to it. He pointed out that the first Klan was formed in Pulaski, Tenn., in December 1865. It grew rapidly and soon spread throughout the State and beyond its borders. The Klan dens or local clubs began to engage in acts of violence. Their lawlessness grew to such proportions that on March 23, 1871, President Grant sent the following message to Congress:

A condition of affairs now exists in some of the States of the Union rendering life and property insecure \* \* \*. The proof that such a condition of affairs exists in some localities is now before the Senate. That the power to correct these evils is beyond the control of State authorities, I do not doubt. \* \* \*

Following his recommendation for legislation, a joint congressional committee was formed and held hearings from April to September 1871 relating to the lawless conduct of "The Ku-Klux Conspiracy" in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. In addition, a law "to enforce the provisions of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes" (now sections 241, 242, 243, Title 18, U.S. Code) was enacted in April 1871. Klan activity subsequently decreased.

The Klan was revived in 1915 and within 10 years achieved its alltime membership peak of between 3 and 5 million persons. Following exposés of Klan activities by many newspapers in the early 1920's, the House Rules Committee held brief hearings in 1921. Klan membership again began to decline following press revelations in 1924 of various murder cases in which the Klan had been involved.

Klan participation in a German-American Bund rally held on August 18, 1940, led to investigations and hearings by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1940 and 1942.

Following World War II, there was a limited revival of Klan activity and membership in the late 1940's and early 1950's. In more recent years, Klan strength has increased at a greater rate, and their leaders have considered organizing on a nationwide basis.

Continuing his testimony under oath, Mr. Appell stated committee investigation had revealed that a real fear of the Klan exists among Klansmen themselves, ex-Klansmen, victims of the Klan, and the public. Klan threatening letters and telephone calls, economic reprisals, cross-burnings, beatings, bombings, and murders are the basis for such fears.

Because of such fear, Mr. Appell testified, a considerable period of time often elapses before the police learn that an act of violence has been committed. This presents a very real obstacle to the apprehension of the guilty parties. Moreover, Klansmen use citizens band radios for intra-Klan communication and also receiving equipment which enables them to intercept police radio calls. Being in a position to know where police patrol cars are located at any given time, the Klan can judge when and where to commit illegal acts with assurance that there will be adequate time for escape.

The committee's investigative chief also testified that while there has been some infiltration of the law enforcement agencies by Klansmen, the overwhelming majority of police and law enforcement officers in the South are neither Klan members nor sympathetic to the KKK. Committee investigators have received excellent cooperation from both State and local law enforcement agencies, he said.

Facts developed in the 12 days of hearings in 1965, which were devoted primarily to the United Klans of America, revealed that:

The Klan movement is not a monolithic development, but rather is composed of about a dozen separate Klan organizations. Membership in all Klan groups was considerably greater than was estimated at the time the investigation began. However, this membership began to decline when the committee's public hearings commenced.

The largest and predominant Klan organization in the United States is the United Klans of America (UKA), which is most active in the following States: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana,



Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The UKA has not been fully reporting its income in its corporate tax returns, nor has it paid taxes on the income it has reported. The hearings also disclosed that the Grand Dragons of three of the major realms (State organizations) of the UKA, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia,<sup>6</sup> have not deposited in the realm bank accounts many checks received by them as dues and have, instead, cashed them without any accounting to the membership. Moreover, insurance programs supposedly intended for the benefit of Klan members have been used instead for the personal gain of UKA officers.

The hearings demonstrated that a considerable number of UKA officers and members have criminal records—and some of them extensive records for carrying concealed weapons, burglary, inciting to riot, breaking out of prison, interfering with law enforcement officers in the performance of their duties, operating disorderly houses, etc. Moreover, UKA leaders have not made genuine efforts to prevent such persons from joining the Klan, nor have they expelled them after they have joined and their records have become known.

The UKA conducted secret schools in which its members were taught how to use rifles and pistols, the skills of judo and karate, and how to make booby traps and Molotov cocktails, as well as other demolition devices, from easily obtainable materials such as farm fertilizer, gasoline, flashlight batteries, and electric light switches. The record shows that the “graduates” of these schools formed the nucleus of hush-hush squads of men called wrecking crews, which carried out acts of violence, terrorism, and intimidation. These “enforcers” had a ready supply of weapons, sometimes purchased from other Klansmen who had obtained Federal licenses as commercial gun dealers.

The hearings also revealed the existence within various Klan organizations of secret terrorist groups known by such names as the Vigilantes or Black Knights, the Underground, or the White Band.

UKA propaganda states that the organization is based upon the highest moral principles of Christianity and that Klansmen must be patriotic and loyal to the Government and its institutions. It appeals, in other words, to noble ideals and objectives to which all men might subscribe. The record revealed, however, that such Klan platitudes were used to hoodwink the public, enlist the naive, and bilk essentially well-meaning people of their hard-earned savings. A considerable number of basically good and decent American citizens have apparently been deceived into joining the Klan by its patriotic-sounding propaganda. These persons have not subscribed to the violence and other reprehensible tactics used by Klan leaders, nor have they condoned the financial doubledealing which has gone on in official Klan circles.

<sup>6</sup> Only States reached during 1965 hearings.

CHAPTER II

REPORTS COMPILED TO ASSIST CONGRESS IN ITS  
LEGISLATIVE DELIBERATIONS

WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT: SELECTIVE CHRONOLOGY  
1818-1957

Volume IV, 1954-1955

The fourth volume of the chronology of the World Communist Movement series records factually the highlights of the cold war during the two significant post-Korean war years.

Volumes I, II, and III of the chronology covered major Communist activities during the years 1818-1945, 1946-1950, and 1951-1953, respectively. A subsequent volume will extend the series to the end of 1957, at which time an index for the entire set of volumes will be published.

Representative Edwin E. Willis, committee chairman, stated in the foreword to Volume IV of the chronology that "We must face the fact that many more people dream of world conquest today than did in the days of Caesar, Genghis Khan, Napoleon—or even Stalin." He added that:

These people are organized in the World Communist Movement, with affiliated Communist parties in over 90 nations. The Soviets claim a formal membership of 40 million persons in this international conspiratorial organization. Many, many more millions are fellow travelers, sympathizers, and collaborators with the movement.

\* \* \* \* \*

We cannot ignore these people and their power—because they will not let us. Every day, in one form or another—political, economic, military, diplomatic, cultural, scientific—they are employing their power against us in South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos; in Cuba and Venezuela; \* \* \*; here in the United States; in every corner of the earth where there is a Communist.

It was noted in Volume III that the Communist "war policy" was at its height throughout the world during the period 1951-1953, particularly in Korea, Indo-China, the Philippines, Tibet, and Iran. As usual, the Communists coupled their worldwide aggressive behavior during that period with an intensive international "peace" propaganda campaign. The 1965 volume of the chronology recorded that Soviet-Sino paramilitary activities continued during 1954. Dienbienphu fell to the Viet Minh on May 7, 1954, leading to the partition of Vietnam and the creation of a political base and sanctuary which Ho Chi Minh, aided by Peking and Moscow, used to launch fresh attacks on South Vietnam.

Volume IV also recorded that in June 1954 the forces of freedom in Guatemala successfully revolted against the Communist-controlled government of that country, pointing up the fact that Communist regimes are not necessarily permanent.

Mr. Willis said in the foreword of the latest volume that if freedom is to be preserved, "it is imperative that our leaders be thoroughly versed in the fundamentals of Communist doctrines and goals, [and] the strategy and tactics used to achieve them \* \* \*." The events recorded during 1955 clearly demonstrate the truth of the chairman's statement. A decided switch in Communist tactics developed in mid-1955 contrasting with the militant line employed by the Communist bloc in 1954:

On May 15, 1955, the Big Four Foreign Ministers—U.S.S.R., along with the U.S.A., Great Britain, and France—signed a state treaty with Austria providing for the withdrawal of the occupation forces and an Austrian declaration of neutrality.

On June 2, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia signed a declaration which terminated the Soviet-Yugoslav estrangement. Shortly before this Khrushchev blamed the split which had existed not upon Tito, but upon individuals in the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. who, he said, had fabricated the charges against the Yugoslav leader. Subsequently, the U.S.S.R. canceled a debt of \$90 million owed by Yugoslavia.

On June 7, the West German Government received, for the first time, a formal communication from the U.S.S.R. The proposal invited Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to visit Moscow and to discuss the establishment of diplomatic, trade, and cultural relations.

On July 4, Soviet leaders made an "unprecedented" and "unexpected" visit to a party given at the American Embassy in Moscow commemorating American independence.

On July 5, the Indian Communist Party issued a resolution directing many changes in policy including, significantly, unconditional support for Prime Minister Nehru and his government.

On July 8, the Communist Party of Japan ordered its members to dissolve the underground military apparatus, to dispose of their weapons, and to burn all documents on illegal activities. One week later a Japanese party leader stated that the party would concentrate only on legal, parliamentary activities.

Other Communist parties throughout Europe were also adjusting to the new tactic of honey rather than vinegar to woo the unwary.

The CPUSA also stressed the new look or "spirit of Geneva" in an article published in *Political Affairs*. It called the Big Four summit meeting the beginning of the end of the cold war.

Other "soft-line" moves by the U.S.S.R. in 1955 included the evacuation of its military base in Finland and the extension of invitations to U.S. Congressmen and Senators to tour the Soviet Union.

Volume IV is useful to the student of cold war activities since the 2 years it covers provide excellent examples of how quickly and completely Communists can, and will, reverse their tactics whenever they believe conditions are such that new and different techniques will better serve their goal of world conquest.

The chronology is not intended to be a definitive work on the subject of Communist history. Its capsuled references to Soviet and other Communist activities of the past are intended to remind the readers of the calculated twists and turns innate to communism which cannot be forgotten, as well as to stimulate further study of the events described.

The chronology and index were prepared by Dr. Joseph G. Whelan, specialist in Soviet and East European Affairs, Foreign Affairs Division, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, in consultation with Dr. Sergius Yakobson, senior specialist in Russian Affairs of the Library's Legislative Reference Service, and with the research staff of the Committee on Un-American Activities.



### CHAPTER III

#### REFERENCE SERVICE FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

In 1965, Members of Congress and representatives of the Government's investigative agencies increased their use of the extensive collection of public documentation on subversive activities which the committee has acquired over several decades.

The committee's reference section received about 2,400 requests from Members of Congress and more than 2,500 from the committee's staff seeking information on approximately 7,100 individuals and 4,900 organizations. Fulfilling these requests required the preparation of over 4,100 written reports and the perusal of 12,000 subject-names. Such reports were confined to information contained in publicly available sources, a customary committee policy.

In addition, representatives from investigative agencies of the executive branch made 2,400 visits to the committee to check its records in the performance of their security responsibilities.

During the year the committee's staff personnel were supplied with copies of almost 24,000 exhibits, many of which were used in its hearings, investigations, and research.

The foregoing statistics reflect an increase at every point of service over that provided in 1964. For example, there was a 200 percent increase in the amount of material reproduced and an increase of over 13 percent in the number of subjects researched for Members of Congress and the staff. Although pressed to its capacity, the committee's reference service incorporated an unprecedented volume of new public source material into an already sizable collection of documents in order to provide the complete and up-to-date data on subversion required by the U.S. Congress.

The reference service of the committee has been cited by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia as an operation evidencing the committee's legislative purpose. *Gojack v. U.S.*, 280 F. 2d 678 (1960).

## CHAPTER IV

### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF COMMITTEE PUBLICATIONS FOR THE YEAR 1965

During the year 1965, the committee distributed 158,315 copies of its publications to Members of Congress, Government agencies, and private individuals and organizations.

The committee had a total of 233,390 copies of publications available for distribution during 1965. This figure included 169,995 documents printed and received prior to 1965; 3,125 copies of hearings held in 1964, but received from the Government Printing Office in 1965; 44,500 reprints of documents distributed in earlier years; and 22,770 copies of hearings and reports dated 1965.

The 75,000 copies of publications which had not been distributed at the end of 1965 represented stocks of a number of reprinted committee documents for which there has been a steady demand over a period of several years (e.g., the 4-volume chronology of the World Communist Movement; the 2-volume Facts on Communism series, and Irrationality of Communism.)

The following is a list of publications released by the committee during the first session of the 89th Congress:

#### HEARINGS

Hearings Relating to H.R. 470, H.R. 1033, H.R. 2215, H.R. 2379, H.R. 4389, H.R. 5370, H.R. 5784, and H.R. 6700, Providing for Creation of a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy, March 31, April 1, April 28, May 7, and May 14, 1965.

Communist Activities in the Chicago, Illinois, Area, Parts 1 and 2, May 25, 26, 27, and June 22, 1965.

Testimony of Juanita Castro Ruz, June 11, 1965.

#### REPORTS

World Communist Movement: Selective Chronology 1818-1957, Volume IV, 1954-1955.

Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy, Report No. 629, July 20, 1965.

Rules of Procedure, Revised, September 14, 1965.

Annual Report for the Year 1965.

## CHAPTER V

### CONTEMPT PROCEEDINGS

#### UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURTS

The contempt indictments against *Russell Nixon*, *Dagmar Wilson*, and *Donna Allen* which were returned by the grand jury in the District of Columbia on December 30, 1964, were brought to trial in April 1965 before Judge Edward M. Curran. This consolidated trial, in which the defendants waived a jury, resulted in findings of guilt by the court on April 8, 1965.

Nixon, Wilson, and Allen had refused to testify on December 7, 1964, before a subcommittee which was investigating the security aspects of temporary admission into the United States of aliens who are inadmissible under certain provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Because of the nature of the subject under inquiry and the involvement of certain executive agencies in the administration of the act, the committee preliminarily determined under the applicable rules of the House and of the committee that these hearings should be held in executive session, and the subcommittee, appointed by the chairman, finally determined that the hearings should be executive.

The subcommittee held nine such executive sessions from March 12 to September 9, 1964, and heard a number of witnesses from an executive department.

Nixon, Wilson, and Allen were subpoenaed to appear before the 10th session of these hearings in Washington, D.C., on December 7, 1964. The witnesses protested that the session was an executive hearing and demanded that it be opened to the public. The subcommittee, after consideration, rejected this objection and demand.

Wilson and Allen refused to testify at the executive session, and Nixon refused even to be sworn.

Thereafter, the subcommittee and the committee voted to cite these witnesses for contempt in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 192, and the Speaker of the House certified them to the United States attorney for the District of Columbia as provided by 2 U.S.C. § 194.

In finding these defendants guilty, the court held that the subject matter of the inquiry was within the jurisdiction of the committee; that there was sufficient reason to call the defendants as witnesses; that the subcommittee before which they appeared was validly constituted and properly authorized to conduct these hearings; and that calling them in an executive session was proper under the rules of the House and of the committee.

On June 4, 1965, the court sentenced each of these defendants to pay a fine of \$100 and to serve 4 to 12 months, the execution of the sentences being suspended.

These defendants appealed their convictions to the United States Court of Appeals.

The indictment against *Harvey O'Connor* for refusing to respond to a subpoena of the committee to appear and to give testimony at a hearing in Newark, N.J., on September 5, 1958, on the subject of Communist Party activities in the Newark, N.J., area, was dismissed by the United States District Court in Newark on May 5, 1965, because the requirements of an appellate decision in the case of *Shelton v. United States*, rendered in 1963, could not be met.

#### UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS

At yearend, the *Nixon*, *Wilson*, and *Allen* convictions were pending in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

On May 27, 1965, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia affirmed the conviction of *John T. Gojack* for refusing to answer questions of a subcommittee of this committee conducting hearings in Washington, D.C., on Communist Party infiltration in the field of labor in February and March 1955. Gojack relied upon first amendment rights in refusing to answer.

#### UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

On December 2, 1965, the Supreme Court granted certiorari in the *Gojack* case. At yearend the case was still in the Supreme Court awaiting a decision.



## CHAPTER VI

### LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

The following legislation is recommended:

#### I.

That the deficiency in the Internal Security Act of 1950, relating to the registration of individual members of Communist organizations, as revealed in the Supreme Court decision in the cases of *William Albertson and Roscoe Quincy Proctor v. Subversive Activities Control Board* (decided November 15, 1965), be remedied by appropriate revisions of the said act.

#### II.

That the President be explicitly authorized to regulate or prohibit travel by citizens of the United States to specific areas or countries, at such times as he finds that the national interest requires such action, and making the violation of such regulations punishable as an offense against the United States. (See discussion, "II. Area Restraints on Travel," *Annual Report for the Year 1964*, p. 76, in which the committee recommended an amendment to section 1185, Title 8, U.S. Code, in line with H.R. 9045, introduced by Mr. Willis November 6, 1963.)

#### III.

That the Secretary of State be authorized to deny or revoke passports, or to grant restricted passports, to persons who, in traveling abroad, will likely engage in activities to further the purposes of the world Communist movement. (See discussion, "III. Passports," *Annual Report for the Year 1964*, p. 89.)

#### IV.

That the Smith Act of 1940 be amended to clarify congressional intent with respect to the terms "advocate" and "teach," as indicated by the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Yates v. United States*, 354 U.S. 298 (1957). (See discussion, "IV. Smith Act," *Annual Report for the Year 1964*, p. 97.)

#### V.

That it be made a Federal offense to obtain, or attempt to obtain, money or property by any scheme to defraud, or by any false or fraudulent representation, or by concealing or covering up by any trick, scheme, or device a material fact, for the purpose of promoting the interests of, or benefiting, a government of a foreign country, a foreign political party, any alien, or any association, partnership, corporation, or other combination of individuals organized under the laws of, or having its principal place of business in, a foreign country. (See

discussion, "V. Schemes to Defraud," *Annual Report for the Year 1964*, p. 100.)

#### VI.

That Communist-front and Communist-infiltrated organizations, as defined in the Internal Security Act of 1950, when found to be such by final order of the Board under the provisions of the act of 1950, be required to maintain and keep current detailed financial records relating to their activities which shall be open to inspection on demand of any member of such organizations.

#### VII.

That it be made a Federal offense, whether or not a formal state of war exists, for any person owing allegiance to the United States to give, solicit, or receive from another, any money, property, supplies, or thing for delivery to any hostile foreign power, agency, or national thereof, or any power, group, or person acting in hostile opposition to the Armed Forces of the United States, with the intent to impede or interfere with the operation or success of the Armed Forces of the United States or with the intent in any manner to prejudice the interests of the United States.

#### VIII.

That it be made a Federal offense to obstruct, attempt to obstruct, or to solicit or counsel another or conspire to obstruct, the free movement of military personnel or supplies with the intent to obstruct or hinder the United States or members of the Armed Forces in preparing for, or carrying on, any military duty or activity.

#### IX.

That it be made a Federal offense (a) for any person to misbehave or to engage in disorderly conduct in the presence of any committee or subcommittee of the Senate or House, or (b) for any person, with the intent to obstruct or impede such committee or subcommittee in the discharge of its duties, to picket or parade in or near a building which is being occupied or used by such committee or subcommittee, or with such intent uses any sound truck or similar device or resorts to any other demonstration in or near such building.

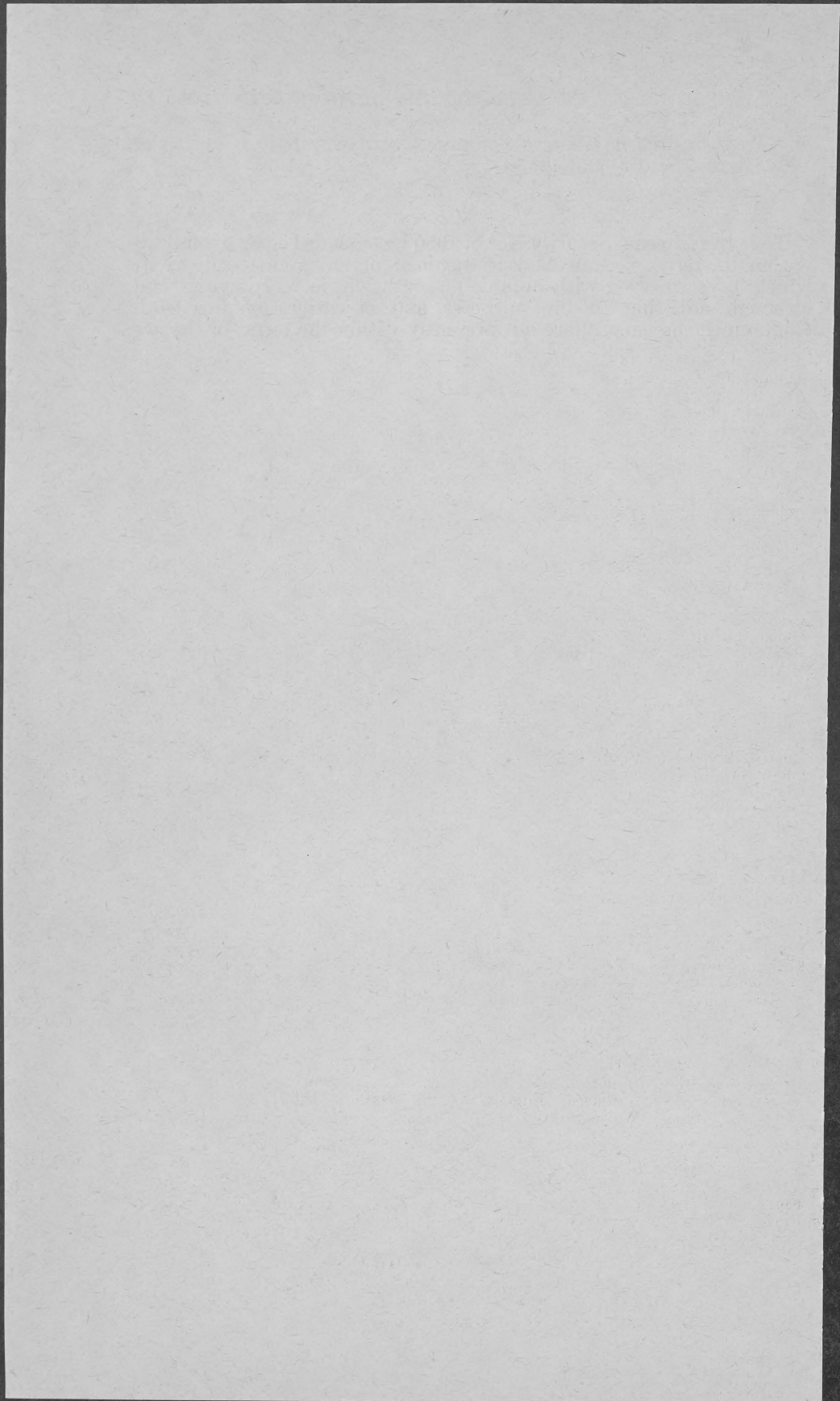
#### X.

That there be established a research and educational institution as an independent agency of the United States Government to assist in the development of methods and means employable in both the governmental and private sectors to counter all forms of Communist political warfare, subversion, and insurgency, while seeking to preserve and build free and viable societies, and for the education and training of governmental personnel, selected private citizens, and, under appropriate conditions, foreign nationals in the science of Communist conflict techniques so as to increase the nonmilitary capabilities of the United States and other nations in the global struggle between freedom and communism. (See *House Report No. 629*, 89th Congress, 1st Session, and *Hearings Providing for Creation of a Freedom Commission*

*and Freedom Academy*, House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1964, Parts 1 and 2, and 1965.)

XI.

That the Internal Security Act of 1950 be amended so as to embrace within its terms certain Marxist-Leninist organizations and groups which have emerged with notable strength within recent years and, although adhering to the purposes and objectives of the world Communist movement, are not presently within the terms of the act.





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